

From an Original plainting *S. Taylor Sculp*

Mahommed Akbar, Emperor of Hindostan; died A.D. 1604.

148 e

THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN;

FROM THE

EARLIEST ACCOUNT OF TIME,

TO THE

DEATH OF AKBAR;

TRANSLATED

FROM THE PERSIAN OF MAHUMMUD CASIM FERISHTA OF DELHI;

TOGETHER WITH

A DISSERTATION

Concerning the RELIGION and PHILOSOPHY of the BRAHMINS;

WITH

An APPENDIX,

Containing the Hiſtory of the MOGUL EMPIRE, from its Decline in the Reign of MAHUMMUD SHAW, to the preſent Times.

By ALEXANDER DOW.

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The Hiſtory of HINDOSTAN, from the Invaſion of TAMERLANE, to the final Conqueſt of that Country, by Sultan BABER; being a Period of one hundred and thirty years.

SECTION I.

Of the Progreſs of AMIR TIMUR, or TAMERLANE, in Hindoſtan.

AMIR TIMUR, being informed of the commotions and civil wars of Hindoſtan, began his expedition into that country, in the eight hundredth year of the Higerah, and, on the twelfth of Mohirrim, in the following year, arrived on the banks of the Chule Jallali *. He immediately diſpatched Amir Shech Noor ul Dien to diſpoſſeſs Shab ul Dien Mubarick, who had, in charge, the defence of the frontier diſtricts. When Shech Noor

A. D. 1397. Higerah 800. Tamerlane invades Hindoſtan.

* A river on the frontiers of Hindoſtan.

A. D. 1397. Hig. 800. ul Dien had arrived within a few miles of Shab ul Dien Mubarick, he ſummoned him to ſubmit to Timur. But as the imperial general had previouſly retreated into a ſtrong hold, on the bank of the river, round which he had drawn a ditch, forming the place into an iſland, he determined to defend himſelf to the laſt.

Shech Noor ul Dien, however, found means, upon making his approaches, to fill up the ditch: but at night he ſuffered a conſiderable loſs, by a violent ſally of the beſieged; whom, in the end, he repulſed, and forced to take ſhelter within their walls. Amir Timur himſelf advanced againſt the enemy, with his whole army. Shab ul Dien intimidated, by the approach of Timur, ſtowed privately, in forty boats, his treaſure and family, and fell down the river, being two days purſued in vain, by Shech Noor ul Dien, who was detached with a party after him. The garriſon, after the departure of their leader, immediately ſurrendered.

Amir Timur proceeded down the river to the conflux of the Jimboo and Chinab, where there was a ſtrong fort and town, known by the name of Tulmubini. He ordered a bridge to be laid acroſs, by which his army might paſs. Having pitched his camp, without the town, he laid it under a heavy contribution. But whilſt the inhabitants were very buſy in collecting the ſum demanded, a complaint being made in the camp, of the ſcarcity of proviſions, orders were iſſued to ſeize grain wherever it ſhould be found. The ſoldiers, upon this, haſtened to ſearch the town, but not being content to take proviſions alone, the natural conſequence was, that a general plunder enſued. The inhabitants, endeavouring to oppoſe this outrage, were maſſacred without mercy.

Tamerlane lays Tulmubini under contribution.

The inhabitants maſſacred.

To beſiege the citadel would but retard the deſigns of Timur. He therefore marched, the next day after the maſſacre, to a town called Shawnawaze, where he found more grain than was ſufficient

cient to ſerve his whole army. He therefore ordered, that what could not be carried away ſhould be burnt; having previouſly cut off Jifferit, the brother of Shuha Giker, who had attempted to defend the place with two thouſand men. Timur marched, on the third day, from Shawnawaze, and, croſſing the Bea, came into a rich and plentiful country. A. D. 1397. Hig. 800. Shawnawaze pillaged.

It may not be improper here to ſay ſomething concerning the proceedings of Mirza Pier Mahummud, after his having, as has been already mentioned, taken Moultan. The Solſtitial rains having deſtroyed a great part of his cavalry, in the field, he was under the neceſſity of drawing his army into the city of Moultan. There he was driven to the utmoſt diſtreſs by the inhabitants of the country, who had cloſely inveſted him. His cavalry, inſtead of being able to act againſt them, diminiſhed daily in their numbers, for want of forage. Mirza Pier Mahummud blockaded in Moultan.

In this untoward ſituation were the affairs of that prince, when his grandfather, Amir Timur, entered Hindoſtan, who immediately reinforced Mahummud with a detachment of thirty thouſand choſen horſe, and ſoon joined him with his whole army. The prince carried in his mind great animoſity againſt the governor of Battenize, who had chiefly diſtreſſed him. Amir Timur himſelf, to chaſtiſe the governor, ſelected ten thouſand horſe, with which he marched directly towards him. When he reached Adjodin, he was ſhewn the tomb of Sheeh Ferid Shuckergunge, the poet, in reſpect to whoſe memory he ſpared the few inhabitants who remained in the place, the greater part having fled to Delhi and Battenize. Is relieved by Timur,

Timur continued then his march to Battenize, croſſing the river of Adjodin, and encamping at Chaliſkole, from which place, in one day, he marched fifty crores to Battenize. Upon his arrival, the people of Debalpoor, and other adjacent towns, crowded into who arrives at Battenize,

A. D. 1397. Hig. 800. the place, in ſuch numbers, that half of them were driven out, and obliged to take ſhelter under the walls. They were there attacked, the firſt day, by the king, and ſome thouſands of them ſlain. Raw Chillige, who was governor of the place, ſeeing the enemy ſo few in number, drew out the garriſon, and formed them without the town, in order of battle. The Moguls, however, upon the firſt onſet, drove him back within his walls, while the king himſelf preſſed ſo hard upon the enemy's rear, that he poſſeſſed himſelf of the gates before they could be ſhut. Then driving the runaways from ſtreet to ſtreet, he became, in a few hours, intirely maſter of the place, except the citadel; to reduce which, he ordered a party immediately to diſmount, and begin to undermine it.

and inveſts it.

The city taken, The garriſon deſired to capitulate, to which Timur agreed; and the governor, having had an interview with the king, preſented him with three hundred Arabian horſes, and with many of the valuable curioſities of Hindoſtan. Timur, in return, honoured him with a chelat; and after the conditions were ſettled, ſent Amir Soliman, Sheh, and Omar Ulla, to take poſſeſſion of the gates, commanding them to ſlay all thoſe who had taken refuge in the place, and had before been active againſt his grandſon Mirza Pier Mahummud. The reſt, after being plundered, were ordered to be diſmiſſed.

and the inhabitants put to the ſword. In conſequence of this inhuman order, five hundred perſons, in a few minutes, were put to death. Thoſe who remained ſtill within the fort, were ſo ſtruck with this maſſacre, that they ſet fire to the place, murdered their wives and children, and, in mere deſpair, ſought after nothing but revenge and death. The ſcene now became terrible indeed! but the unfortunate inhabitants were, in the end, cut off to a man; they however revenged themſelves amply, upon the rapacious and inhuman authors of their diſtreſs; ſome thouſands

ſands of the Moguls, having fallen by their hands. This ſo much exaſperated Amir Timur, that firebrand of the world, that he ordered every ſoul in Battenize to be maſſacred, and to reduce the city itſelf to aſhes. A. D. 1397. Hig. 800.

Timur, marching to Suruſti, put the inhabitants of that place, alſo, to the ſword, and gave the town up to pillage. Advancing to Fatteabad, he continued the ſame ſcene of barbarity, through that, and the adjacent towns of Rahib, Amirani, and Jonah. He detached Hakîm Agherâck towards Sammana, with five thouſand horſe, and with the few that remained, he himſelf ſcoured the country, and cut off a tribe of banditti called Jits, who had lived for ſome years by rapine. His army, in the mean time, being divided under different chiefs, carried fire and ſword through all the provinces of Moultan and Lahore, but when they advanced, near the capital, he ordered a general rendezvous at Keitil, a town within five crores of Sammana. Several cities taken by Timur, and the inhabitants maſſacred.

Timur himſelf ſoon joined his army, and having regulated the order of his march, advanced towards Delhi. When he reached Panniput, he ordered his ſoldiers to put on their fighting apparel *; and, that he might be the better ſupplied with forage, croſſed the Jumna, took the fort of Lowni by aſſault, and put the garriſon to the ſword. He then marched down along the river, and encamped oppoſite to the citadel of Delhi, poſting guards to prevent all communication. He immediately detached Amir Soliman Shaw, and Amir Jehan Shaw, to ſcour the country behind him to the ſouth and ſouth eaſt of the city; whilſt he himſelf that very day, with ſeven hundred horſe only, croſſed the river to reconnoitre the citadel. Arrives before Delhi, which he reconnoitres.

Mahmood Shaw and Mullu Eckbal Chan, ſeeing ſo few in the retinue of Timur, iſſued forth with five thouſand foot and twenty-

* Coats ſtuffed thick with cotton, worn inſtead of armour.

ſeven.

A. D. 1397. Hig. 800.

ſeven elephants againſt him. Mahummud Sillif, an Omrah of repute in Delhi, who led on the attack, was repulſed and taken priſoner by the Moguls. Timur ordered him to be immediately beheaded, and after having made the obſervations which he deſigned, repaſſed the river and joined his army.

He next morning moved his camp more to the eaſtward, where he was told, by the princes and generals of his army, that there were then above one hundred thouſand priſoners in his camp, who had been taken ſince he croſſed the Sind; that theſe unfortunate perſons had, the day before, expreſſed great joy, when they ſaw him attacked before the citadel; which rendered it extremely probable, that, on a day of battle, they would join with their countrymen againſt him. The inhuman Timur, who might have found other means of prevention, gave orders to put all above the age of fifteen to the ſword, ſo that, upon that horrid day, one hundred thouſand men were maſſacred, in cold blood. This barbarity, together with his other actions of equal cruelty, gained him the name of Hillâk Chan, or the deſtroying Prince.

He maſſacres 100,000 priſoners in cold blood.

Croſſes the Jumna,

Upon the fifth of Jemmad ul Awil, Timur forded the river with his army without oppoſition, and encamped on the plains of Firoſeabad; where he entrenched himſelf, filling the ditch with buffaloes fronting the enemy, whom he faſtened with ropes and picquets to their ſtations, placing, at the ſame time, ſtrong guards, at proper diſtances, behind them.

Though the aſtrologers pronounced the ſeventh an unlucky day, the king marched out of his lines, and drew up his army in order of battle. Sultan Mamood and Mullu Eckbal Chan, with the army of Delhi, and one hundred and twenty elephants in mail, advanced towards him. But upon the very firſt charge of a ſquadron, called the Heroes of Chighitta, the elephant-drivers were diſmounted,

mounted, and the outrageous animals, deprived of their guides, ran roaring back, and ſpread terror and confuſion among their own ranks. The veteran troops of Timur, who had already conquered half the world, improved this advantage, and the degenerate Hindoos were, in a few minutes, totally routed, without making one brave effort for their country, lives, and fortunes. The conqueror purſued them, with great ſlaughter, to the very gates of Delhi, near which he fixed his quarters. A. D. 1397. Hig. 800.

totally defeats the enemy,

The conſternation of the fugitives was ſo great, that, not truſting to their walls, Sultan Mamood and Mullu Eckbal Chan, deſerted, in the night, their capital; the former flying to Guzerat, the latter taking the route of Berren. Timur, having intelligence of their flight, detached parties after them, one of which coming up with Sultan Mamood, killed a great number of his retinue, and took his two infant ſons, Seif ul Dien and Choda Daad, priſoners. Timur received the ſubmiſſion of all the great men of the city, who crowded to his camp, and were promiſed protection upon paying great contributions; and, upon the Friday following, he ordered the Chutba in all the moſques, to be read in his own name. Upon the ſixteenth of the ſame month he placed guards at the gates, and appointed the ſcriviners of the city, and magiſtrates, to regulate the contribution according to the wealth and rank of the inhabitants. Information was, in the mean time, lodged, that ſeveral omrahs and rich men had ſhut themſelves up in their houſes, with their dependents, and refuſed to pay down their ſhare of the ranſom. This obliged Timur Shaw to ſend troops into the city, to enforce the authority of the magiſtrates. A general confuſion, uproar, and plundering, immediately enſued, which could not be reſtrained by the Mogul officers, who, at the ſame time, durſt not acquaint the king that their authority was contemned by the troops.

who deſert the city.

Timur

A. D. 1397. Hig. 800. Timur was then buſy in his camp, in celebrating a grand feſtival, on account of his victory, ſo that it was five days before he received any intelligence of theſe proceedings. The firſt notice he had of them, was by the flames of the city; for the Hindoos, according to their manner, ſeeing their wives and daughters raviſhed and polluted, their wealth ſeized by the hand of rapine, and they themſelves inſulted, beat, and abuſed, at length, by one conſent, ſhut the city gates, ſet fire to their houſes, murthered their wives and children, and ran out like madmen againſt their enemies.

A general maſſacre. But little effect had the deſpair of the unfortunate upon the Moguls, who ſoon collected themſelves, and began a general maſſacre. Some ſtreets were rendered impaſſable, by the heaps of dead; and, in the mean time, the gates being forced, the whole Mogul army were admitted. Then followed a ſcene of horror, much eaſier to be imagined than deſcribed.

The unparaleled misfortunes of the Delhians. The deſperate courage of the unfortunate Delhians, was at length cooled in their own blood. They threw down their weapons, they ſubmitted themſelves like ſheep to the ſlaughter. They permitted one man to drive a hundred of them priſoners before him; ſo that we may plainly perceive, that cowardice is the mother of deſpair. In the city the Hindoos were, at leaſt, ten to one, ſuperior in number to the enemy, and had they poſſeſſed ſouls, it would have been impoſſible for the Moguls, who were ſcattered about in every ſtreet, houſe, and corner, laden with plunder, to have reſiſted the dreadful aſſault. But though the Hindoos had the ſavage reſolution of imbruing their hands in the blood of their wives and children, we find them ſtill the ſlaves of fear, and ſhrinking at the approach of that death, which they could ſo readily execute upon others.

Nizam ul Dien's account of the maſſacre in Delhi. This maſſacre is, in the Hiſtory of Nizam ul Dien Ahmud, otherwiſe related. The collectors of the ranſom, ſays he, upon the part of

of Timur, having uſed great violence, by torture and other means, to extort money, the citizens fell upon them, and killed ſome of the Moguls. This circumſtance being reported to the Mogul king, he ordered a general pillage, and, upon reſiſtance, a maſſacre to commence. This account carries greater appearance of truth along with it, both from Timur's general character of cruelty, and the improbability of his being five days cloſe to the city without having intelligence of what paſſed within the walls. A. D. 1397. Hig. 800.

But the race of the Mogul prince take, to this day, great pains to invalidate this opinion, nor do they want arguments upon their ſide. The principal one is this, that, in conſequence of a general plunder, the king would have been deprived of the ranſom, which muſt have been exceedingly great, and for which he only received the elephants and regalia. Neither have we any account of his taking any part of the plunder from his army afterwards, though it muſt have been very immenſe.

Timur enters Delhi.

The king, after this horrid ſcene, entered the city, taking to himſelf one hundred and twenty elephants, twelve rhinoceroſes, and a number of curious animals, that had been collected by Firoſe Shaw. The fine moſque, built by that prince, upon the ſtones of which he had inſcribed the hiſtory of his reign, being eſteemed a maſter-piece of architecture and taſte, took ſo much the fancy of the conqueror, that he ordered ſtone-cutters and maſons from Delhi to Samarcand, to build one upon the ſame plan.

Reſolves to return. Marches to Firoſeabad.

After having ſtayed fifteen days at Delhi, Timur took a ſudden reſolution of returning, and he accordingly marched out to Firoſeabad, whither Bahadre Nahir ſent him two white parrots, as curioſities from Mewat, with profeſſions of ſubjection. The king ſent Seid Shumſe ul Dien Turmuzi to bring him to the preſence, which

A. D. 1397. Hig. 800. ſummons he immediately obeyed; and Chizer Chan, who had lain concealed in the hills, preſented himſelf at court, and was favorably received.

and to Paniput. The king marching from Firoſeabad arrived at Paniput, from whence he detached Amir Shaw Malluk, to beſiege Merat, a ſtrong fort, ſituated between the rivers, about thirty crores from Delhi. When Amir Shaw Malluk reached the place, upon reconnoitring its ſtrength, and finding the garriſon determined to defend it, he mentioned in a letter to the king, that they inſulted him from the walls, by telling him he could ſucceed no better than Tirrim Seri Chan, the Mogul Prince, who had formerly attempted to take the place.

Beſieges and takes Merat. This had the deſired effect upon the king, who immediately marched his army againſt Merat, and, without delay, began to ſink his mines, and carry on his approaches; advancing his ſap towards the walls, at the rate of fifteen yards every twenty-four hours. Elias Adyhuni, the ſon of Moluna, Ahmud Jannaſure, and Mulleck Suffi Kebire, defended the place with great reſolution. But the Moguls having filled up the ditch, placed their ſcaling ladders, and faſtened their hook-ropes to the wall, in ſpite of all oppoſition; and, without waiting for a breach, by means of the mines, ſtormed the place, and put every ſoul within it to the ſword. The mines, however, being finiſhed, the king ordered them to be ſprung, which blew the walls and baſtions into pieces.

His progreſs towards the head of the Ganges. Timur continued his march to the ſkirts of the mountains of Sewalic, marking his way with fire and ſword. Croſſing, then, the Ganges, he ſubdued the country as high as where the river iſſues from the mountains; returning from thence, he repaſſed the river, and marched through the hills, where he was oppoſed by a zemindar called Zein Dund, whom he defeated and plundered.

He

He then continued his rout, taking ſeveral ſmall forts in his way; having arrived at Jimmugur, he fought the raja of that place, who was wounded, taken, and forced to become a Muſſulman. A. D. 1397. Hig. 800.

Jiſſerit, the brother of Shuha Gicker, who had fled to him after his being defeated by Timur Shaw, had by his brother been ſeverely reprimanded for oppoſing the king; which having been repreſented to Timur, Shuha Gicker was admitted into his preſence, and became a great favorite. But when the king had marched on to Delhi, he remembered not his obedience, and in the abſence of Timur poſſeſſed himſelf of Lahore. The king having returned to Jimbo *, Shuha Gicker refuſed to ſubmit to his authority. The ſultan ſent part of his army to beſiege Shuha Gicker in Lahore, which being taken in a few days, he was brought priſoner to the king, who ordered him to be inſtantly beheaded.

Shuha Gicker refuſes to ſubmit to Timur.

Timur takes Lahore.

We do not find that Timur appointed any king to govern Hindoſtan, which he had in a great meaſure ſubdued. He, however, confirmed the ſubas, who had ſubmitted to him, in their governments; and, from this circumſtance, we may ſuppoſe, that he intended to retain the empire in his own name; though he left no troops behind him, except a ſmall detachment in Delhi, to ſecure it from further depredations. While he remained at Jimbo, he appointed Chizer Chan viceroy of Moultan, Lahore, and Dibalpoor, then proceeded, by the way of Cabul, to Samurcand.

* A fort in Punjaab, three days journey north of Lahore.

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His progreſs towards the head of the Ganges. Timur continued his march to the ſkirts of the mountains of Sewalic, marking his way with fire and ſword. Croſſing, then, the Ganges, he ſubdued the country as high as where the river iſſues from the mountains; returning from thence, he repaſſed the river, and marched through the hills, where he was oppoſed by a zemindar called Zein Dund, whom he defeated and plundered.

He

He then continued his rout, taking ſeveral ſmall forts in his way; having arrived at Jimmugur, he fought the raja of that place, who was wounded, taken, and forced to become a Muſſulman. A. D. 1397. Hig. 800.

Jiſſerit, the brother of Shuha Gicker, who had fled to him after his being defeated by Timur Shaw, had by his brother been ſeverely reprimanded for oppoſing the king; which having been repreſented to Timur, Shuha Gicker was admitted into his preſence, and became a great favorite. But when the king had marched on to Delhi, he remembered not his obedience, and in the abſence of Timur poſſeſſed himſelf of Lahore. The king having returned to Jimbo *, Shuha Gicker refuſed to ſubmit to his authority. The ſultan ſent part of his army to beſiege Shuha Gicker in Lahore, which being taken in a few days, he was brought priſoner to the king, who ordered him to be inſtantly beheaded.

Shuha Gicker refuſes to ſubmit to Timur.

Timur takes Lahore.

We do not find that Timur appointed any king to govern Hindoſtan, which he had in a great meaſure ſubdued. He, however, confirmed the ſubas, who had ſubmitted to him, in their governments; and, from this circumſtance, we may ſuppoſe, that he intended to retain the empire in his own name; though he left no troops behind him, except a ſmall detachment in Delhi, to ſecure it from further depredations. While he remained at Jimbo, he appointed Chizer Chan viceroy of Moultan, Lahore, and Dibalpoor, then proceeded, by the way of Cabul, to Samurcand.

* A fort in Punjaab, three days journey north of Lahore.

SECTION II.

The concluſion of the reign of MAHMOOD SHAW.

A. D. 1397. Hig. 800. THE city of Delhi had remained in anarchy for the ſpace of two months, when it was taken poſſeſſion of by Nuſerit Shaw, with only two thouſand horſe, from Merat. Shab Chan and Malleck Almaſs, with their troops and ten elephants, joined him ſoon after from the ſame place; Nuſerit Shaw ſent immediately Shab Chan, with his troops, towards Birren, againſt Eckbal Chan, who had there taken up his reſidence. But Shab Chan was attacked, in the night, upon his march, by the zemindars in the intereſt of Eckbal Chan, and ſlain; Eckbal Chan purſuing this advantage, took all the baggage of Shab Chan's army.

Eckbal Chan recovers Delhi. This ſucceſs raiſing the reputation as well as ſpirits of Eckbal Chan, he, in a few days, thought himſelf in a condition to attempt the capital, which he did with ſucceſs; for Nuſerit Shaw, upon his approach, fled to Merat; and Eckbal Chan reſumed the adminiſtration of affairs in the ruined city. The inhabitants, who had fled to different places, having ſtill a natural hankering after their old abode, began to aſſemble again, and the place, in a ſhort time, put on the appearance of populouſneſs, eſpecially the quarter called the New City.

A. D. 1399. Hig. 802. The Subahs revolt from the empire. Eckbal Chan poſſeſſed himſelf ſoon of the country between the two rivers, which, with a ſmall diſtrict round the city, was all that now held of the capital. The ſubas had rendered themſelves independent, in their own governments, during the misfortunes and confuſion of the empire. Guzerat was ſeized upon by Chan Azim Ziffer Chan; — Malava by Delawir Chan;—Kinnoge, Oud, Kurrah, and Jionpoor, by Sultan ul Shirk Chaja Jehan;—Lahore, Dibalpoor,

balpoor, and Moultan, by Chizer Chan;—Sammana by Ghalil Chan;—Beana by Shumſe Chan;—Mahoba by Mahummud Chan ben Malleck Zadda Firoſe; and ſo on with regard to the other provinces, the governors aſſerting their own independence, and ſtiling themſelves kings. A. D. 1399. Hig. 802.

In the month of Jemmad ul Awil, 803, Eckbal Chan marched with an army from Delhi towards Biana, and defeated Shumſe Chan; whoſe troops joining him, he proceeded to Kittar, and after having levied a great contribution upon the territory of Narſingh, returned to Delhi. Intelligence was ſoon after brought him, that Chaja Jehan was dead at Jionpoor, and that his adopted ſon, Kirrinphil, having aſſumed the title of Sultan Mubarick Shaw, held that government. Eckbal Chan being in alliance with Shumſe Chan, governor of Biana, Mubarick Chan and Bahadre Nahir of Mewat, marched the ſame year againſt Kirrinphil. A. D. 1400. Hig. 803. Eckbal Chan defeats Shumſe Chan.

When he had reached the village of Pattiali, upon the banks of the Ganges, Rai Sere, and all the zemindars of that country, oppoſed him; but he defeated them, with great ſlaughter. After this victory, he marched to Kinnoge, with an intention to proceed to Jionpoor, and from thence to Lucknouti. Upon his march, however, he was met by Mubarick Shaw, who oppoſed his croſſing the Ganges ſo effectually, that, after repeated efforts for two months, he was forced to abandon the undertaking, and to return to his own country. But the perfidious Eckbal, entertaining ſome groundleſs ſuſpicions of Shumſe Chan and Mubarick Chan, aſſaſſinated them both upon their way back to their own governments. Fruſtrated in his deſigns upon the province of Jonpoor. A. D. 1401. Hig. 804. His perfidy.

Sultan Mahmood Shaw, in the year 804, being diſguſted with Ziffer Chan at Guzerat, fled from him to Malava, and ſoon after, by the invitation of Eckbal Chan, returned to Delhi. He, however, contented himſelf with a penſion, fearing that his interfering in Sultan Mahmood returns to Delhi.

A. D. 1401. Hig. 804. in the government would prove fatal to him. Advice being arrived, that Mubarick Shaw was dead, at Jionpoor, Eckbal Chan, taking along with him Sultan Mahmood, marched again towards Kinnoge; upon which Sultan Ibrahim, the brother of Mubarick Shaw, who had mounted the throne, advanced with the troops of the Eaſt to meet him.

His folly. When the armies were near one another, Sultan Mahmood, diſſatisfied with his condition, and having the folly to imagine that Sultan Ibrahim would acknowledge him king, and abdicate the throne for his ſake, eſcaped, one day, when he was out hunting, to the army of Ibrahim. But when that prince learned the intentions of Mahmood, he even with-held from him the neceſſaries of life, and intimated to him to quit the camp. Sultan Mahmood returned, in great diſtreſs, to Kinnoge, and was left, by Eckbal Chan, in the government of that city; the governor, who was formerly there on the part of Sultan Ibrahim, being driven out. Ibrahim, however, put up with this inſult, and returned to Jionpoor, while Eckbal Chan retired to Delhi.

Made governor of Kinnoge.

A. D. 1402. Hig. 805. In the year 805, Eckbal Chan marched againſt Gualier, which had fallen into the hands of Narſing, during the invaſion of Timur, and had now, upon Narſing's death, deſcended to his ſon, Byram Deo Rajaput. The fort being very ſtrong, he could effect nothing againſt it, but plundering the diſtrict around, he returned to Delhi. Brooking ill, however, this diſappointment, he, in a ſhort time, marched a ſecond time againſt Gualier. Byram Deo ſallied out of the place, and engaged Eckbal Chan, but he was ſoon driven back into the fort, the ſiege of which Eckbal Chan was again obliged to raiſe; and having plundered the country as before, he returned to Delhi.

Eckbal Chan marches againſt Gualier,

Eckbal

Eckbal Chan, in the year 807, drew his army towards Atava, and having, in ſeveral battles, defeated Rai Sibbiri, Rai Gualier, Rai Jallar, and others, who poſſeſſed that country, he raiſed contributions there. He then turned his arms againſt Sultan Mahmood, in Kinnoge. The Sultan ſhut himſelf up in the city, and Eckbal Chan inveſted it for ſome time, but, not being able to reduce the place, he raiſed the ſiege, and marched towards Sammana. A. D. 1404. Hig. 807. Atava, and Kinnoge.

Byram Chan, a deſcendant of one of the Turkiſh ſlaves of Firoſe Shaw, had fixed himſelf in Sammana, and, upon the approach of Eckbal Chan, had fled to the hills of Budhoor; Eckbal cloſely purſuing him, encamped at the ſkirts of the mountains. Seid Alim ul Dien came to mediate matters, and a peace was ſoon patched up between the contending parties, and both joining their forces together, marched towards Moultan, againſt Chizer Chan. At Tilbundi they were oppoſed by Rai Daood, Camal Mai, and Rai Hubbu, who were defeated and taken priſoners. The perfidious Eckbal Chan, after this victory, without any apparent reaſon, except a deſire of aggrandizing himſelf, ſeized upon Byram Chan, and ordered him to be flay'd alive. Byram Chan, is flay'd alive.

The death of Byram did not remain long unrevenged. Eckbal arriving near Adjodin, Chizer Chan met him, with the troops of Moultan, Punjaab, and Dibalpoor, and, upon the nineteenth of Jemad ul Awil the two armies engaged; Eckbal Chan was ſlain, and the world was happily rid of a perfidious and cruel villain. Eckbal Chan ſlain.

Dowlat Chan Lodi and Actiar Chan, who commanded in Delhi, being informed of this event, called Sultan Mahmood from Kinnoge. The Sultan, coming with a ſmall retinue to Delhi, reaſſumed the throne; but, laying aſide any further efforts to reduce Moultan, he ſent Dowlat Chan with an army againſt Byram Chan, who, A. D. 1406. Hig. 809. Sultan Mahmood reſtored.

A. D. 1406. Hig. 809. Flies from Kinnoge. Purſued by Sultan Ibrahim.

who, upon the death of the former Byram Chan, poſſeſſed himſelf of Sammana. The emperor himſelf returned back, in the mean time, to Kinnoge; Sultan Ibrahim marched againſt him, and, after ſome ſkirmiſhes, obliged him to retreat to Delhi. The Sultan's ſpiritleſs behaviour loſt him the affections of his troops, and they accordingly, with one conſent, diſperſed themſelves.

Sultan Ibrahim, having received intelligence of this deſertion, croſſed the Ganges, and marched towards Delhi, with great expedition. When he had reached the banks of the Jumna, he heard that Chan Azim Ziffer Chan of Guzerat, had taken Alip Chan, Suba of Mindu, and the country of Malava, and was then upon his march towards Jionpoor. Upon which he immediately retreated, to cover the capital of his dominions.

A. D. 1407. Hig. 810. Byram Chan defeated by Lodi.

In the month of Rigib, 810, Dowlat Chan Lodi and Byram Chan, the Turk, came to battle near Sammana. Byram Chan was defeated, and ſurrendered himſelf to Dowlat Chan; but before the latter had enjoyed any fruits of his victory, he was himſelf beat back to Delhi, by Chizer Chan. Sultan Mahmood, in the following year, marched againſt Keiwan Chan, who, upon the part of Chizer Chan, commanded the fort of Firoſa. The Sultan, after levying contributions, returned; and Chizer Chan, upon advice of theſe tranſactions, marched againſt Delhi, and beſieged Sultan Mahmood, who was neither a warrior nor a politician, in Firoſeabad. But fortune, for this time, ſupplied the want of abilities in Mahmood, for Chizer Chan being in want of forage and grain, was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and retire to Fattipoor.

The Sultan beſieged in Feroſeabad.

A. D. 1411. Hig. 814. Chizer Chan beſieges Mahmood in Delhi.

Chizer Chan, in the beginning of the year 814, returned by the way of Rhotuck, a country then in the poſſeſſion of Sultan Mahmood, where Malleck Ecteriz and Mubariz Chan, declining hoſtilities, ſubmitted to his pleaſure. He plundered the town of Narnoul,

noul, and again advanced to Delhi; Mahmood Shaw ſhut himſelf up in the old citadel of Seri, which Chizer Chan immediately beſieged. Achtiar Chan, who commanded in Firoſeabad, ſeeing the affairs of Mahmood in a deſperate ſituation, joined himſelf to Chizer Chan, and admitted him into the place. They then, with all their troops, took poſſeſſion of the country on the oppoſite ſide of the river, and prevented all ſupplies from Sultan Mahmood. A. D. 1413. Hig. 816.

But that famine which they deſigned for the Sultan and his adherents, recoiled upon themſelves; for a great drought had occaſioned a ſcarcity of proviſions between the rivers, and in the neighbourhood of Delhi; inſomuch that Chizer Chan was, a ſecond time, forced to raiſe the ſiege, and retire to Fattipoor. Mahmood Shaw being delivered from this imminent danger, took no pains to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt a future attack. He took the diverſion of hunting in the neighbourhood of Keitul, where he was ſeized with a fever, and died in the month of Zecada; and with him the empire of Delhi fell from the race of the Turks, who were adopted ſlaves of Sultan Shab ul Dien Ghori. But retires. Mahmood dies.

The diſaſtrous, interrupted, and inglorious reign of the weak Mahmood, laſted twenty years and two months. He was juſt as unfit for the age in which he lived, as he was unworthy of better times. God was angry with the people of Hindoſtan, and he gave them Mahmood, whoſe only virtue was, that his folly made him inſenſible, in a great meaſure, to thoſe ſtrokes of fortune, which abilities much greater than his could not, perhaps, avert. The omrahs, ſoon after his death, elected, in his ſtead, Dowlat Chan Lodi, a Patan by nation, and originally a private ſecretary, whom Sultan Mahmood had raiſed to the dignity of Aziz Mumalick *. His character.

* An officer ſomething ſimilar to our Secretary of ſtate.

SECTION III.

The reign of DOWLAT CHAN LODI.

A. D. 1413. Hig. 816. Dowlat Chan Lodi elected emperor.

DOWLAT CHAN LODI being received upon the throne, ſtruck the currency in his own name, and began his adminiſtration in the month of Mohirrim, 816. He was immediately joined by Malleck Ecteriz, and Mubariz Chan, who abandoned the intereſt of Chizer Chan. He marched, in the firſt month of his reign, towards Kittar, and was met by Rai Narſingh, and other zemindars of thoſe diſtricts, who acknowledged his title. Arriving at the town of Battiali, Mohabut Chan, of Budaoon, came to meet him.

Advices, in the mean time, arrived, that Sultan Ibrahim Shirki was beſieging Kadir Chan, the ſon of Mahmood Chan, in Calpee, but as the ſultan had not forces enough to march to his relief, he returned to Delhi to recruit his army. Chizer Chan, who had been preparing to invade the capital, advanced, in the month of Zihidge, with ſixty thouſand horſe, and a third time laid ſiege to the citadel of Seri, whither Dowlat Chan had retired. After a ſiege of four months, he obliged Dowlat Chan, upon the 15th of Ribbi ul Awil, in the year 817, to ſurrender himſelf and the citadel. The emperor was confined in the fort of Firoſa, where he died ſoon after. He reigned one year and three months.

Is taken and depoſed by Chizer Chan.

SECTION IV.

The reign of CHIZER CHAN BEN SOLIMAN.

THE moſt accurate hiſtorians of thoſe times affirm, that Chizer Chan was of the race of the Prophet, and conſequently, what the Iſlamites call a Seid. His father, Malleck Soliman, being a perſon of ſome diſtinction, became the adopted ſon of Malleck Murdan Dowlat, a great omrah, and Suba of Moultan, in the reign of Firoſe Shaw. Malleck Murdan Dowlat was, upon his death, ſucceeded in his government by his own ſon Malleck Shech; and he ſoon dying, Malleck Soliman was appointed to that vice-royſhip, which deſcended to Chizer Chan from his father. Chizer being defeated, as we have already obſerved, by Saring Chan, and driven from his country, he waited upon Timur Shaw, after the conqueſt of Delhi, and, having gained his favor, was by him reinſtated in his former government, with the addition of Punjaab and Dibalpoor. This acceſſion of ſtrength enabled him to pave afterwards his way to the empire.

A. D. 1414. Hig. 817. Chizer Chan ſucceeds.

His family.

Chizer Chan, upon his acceſſion, conferred the title Tage ul Malleck, upon Malleck Joppa, and made him Vizier; and that of Alla ul Malleck upon Abdul Rahim, the adopted ſon of Malleck Soliman, with the government of Fattepoor and Moultan. He thus diſtributed favors, governments, and dignities among his other omrahs, but would not aſſume the imperial titles to himſelf, holding forth, that he held the empire for Timur Shaw: and ordered the coin to be ſtruck in his name. The Chutba, during the life of Timur, was read in that conqueror's name in the moſques; and after Timur had travelled the way of mortality, in that of Mirza Sharock, mentioning the name of Chizer Chan after him. He even ſent ſometimes a tribute to Samarcand.

Does not aſſume the name of emperor. Pretends to hold of Timur.

A D. 1414. Hig. 817. Subdues Kittar.

In the firſt year of his reign he ſent Tage ul Malleck, with an army, towards Kittar, which he ſubdued, and drove Rai Narſingh to the mountains; but upon paying a tribute Rai Narſingh was again put in poſſeſſion of his country. Mohabut Chan, Suba of Badaoon, at the ſame time came to meet Tage ul Malleck, and promiſed allegiance; and from thence he marched towards Koel, Kumbul, and Chidewar, and levied the revenues which were due for ſome years before. After recovering Jellaſar out of the hands of the Rajaputs of Chundwar, Malleck marched to Atava, which he brought under ſubjection, by changing the adminiſtration; and after theſe exploits returned to Delhi.

The Turks expelled from Sirhind.

In the month Jemmad ul Awil of this year, a tribe of Turks, who were of the adherents of Byram Chan, aſſaſſinating Malleck Siddic, governor of Sirhind, took poſſeſſion of his country. Chizer Chan ſent Zirick Chan, with a powerful army, againſt them; and, upon his approach, the Turks croſſed the Suttuluz, and retreated to the hills. Zirick Chan purſued them thither; but thoſe mountains being a continuation of thoſe of Nagracot, which were then poſſeſſed by powerful zemindars, who aſſiſted the Turks, he could effect nothing material againſt them; and, in the end, he was obliged to retreat.

Chizer Chan's expedition againſt Ahmud.

Intelligence was, in the year 819, received at Delhi, that Sultan Ahmud Shaw, of Guzerat, had advanced to Nagore. Chizer Chan, muſtering all his forces, marched againſt him, but Ahmud Shaw, declining battle, turned off towards Malava. When Chizer Chan had reached Hanir, Elias Chan, governor of that beautiful city, which had been built by Sultan Alla ul Dien Chilligie, came out to meet him, and was honorably received. The Sultan proceeded from thence to Gaulier, where he levied the tribute upon the Raja, and then continued his march to Biana, taking tribute from Kerim ul Muluck. He after theſe tranſactions returned to Delhi.

In

In the year 820, Taan, chief of thoſe Turks who had aſſaſſinated Malleck Siddic, lay at the head of a great army before Sirhind. Zirick Chan, governor of Sammana, was immediately diſpatched by Chizer, with a ſtrong force, againſt the Turk who beſieged Sirhind, and he was once more driven back to his hills; and a ſeaſonable relief was accompliſhed for the empire. Zirick Chan having, in purſuit of the enemy, reached the village of Pael, Taan conſented to pay tribute, and gave him his ſon as a hoſtage, expelling the murderers of Malleck Siddic. Upon this pacification he was left in poſſeſſion of Jallender, and Zirick Chan returned to Sammana, ſending the hoſtage and contributions which he had raiſed, to the royal preſence.

A. D. 1419. Hig. 820.

Turks again expelled from Sirhind.

The ſultan, in the year 821, ſent Tage ul Malleck againſt Raja Narſingh. Malleck, without ending the war, plundered and laid waſte the province of Kittar, and returned to Budaoon. Croſſing then the river, he came to Atava, where he raiſed contributions, and from thence returned to Delhi. Chizer went, in perſon, againſt the rebels of Kittar, and, upon his march, chaſtiſed the banditti of Schole. He croſſed the Rahib, laid waſte the country of Simbol and Kittar, and, without coming to battle, returned to his capital.

Chizer invades Kittar.

He continued at Delhi a few days, and then moved towards Budaoon, croſſing the Ganges at Pattali. Mahabut Chan being alarmed at his approach, ſhut himſelf up in Budaoon, where the king beſieged him for ſix months. In the courſe of the ſiege, Cawam Chan, Achtiar Chan Lodi, and all the old friends of Mahmood Shaw, formed a conſpiracy againſt the life of Chizer. The ſultan diſcovering the plot, decamped from before Budaoon, and returned towards Delhi. He, on his way, prepared an entertainment, upon the 20th of Jemmad ul Awil, in 822, to which all the conſpirators were invited, and the guards ſetting ſuddenly upon them, they were to a man aſſaſſinated.

Diſcovers a a plot againſt his life.

The conſpirators aſſaſſinated.

After

A. D. 1419. Hig. 822.

An impoſtor appears at Matchewarrah.

After the ſultan returned to Delhi, he was informed, that an impoſtor had appeared at Matchewarrah, under the name of Saring Chan, and had, by that means, collected a great body of people together. The king ordered Maleck Sultan Sheh Lodi, who, with the title of Iſlam Chan, was, at that time, governor of Sirhind,

Is defeated.

againſt him. The impoſtor was defeated, driven to the hills, and purſued by the joint forces of Maleck Taan, governor of Jallender, of Zirick Chan, governor of Sammana, and of Maleck Cheir ul Dien, governor of the country between the rivers. The impoſtor's army deſerted him, each man ſkulking as beſt he could, and privately retiring to his abode. The imperial forces having no further ſervice to do, ſeparated, and returned to their reſpective ſtations.

He again appears,

But, in the year following, Saring Chan, the impoſtor, iſſued again from his hills, and having made an alliance with Maleck Taan, governor of Jallender, they inveſted the fort of Sirhind, and ravaged the country as far as Munſurepoor and Pael. The king ſent

and is overthrown.

a great army againſt them, who, giving them a total defeat, drove them out of the kingdom.

Chizer Chan's expedition to Mewat.

In the year 824, Chizer Chan marched towards Mewat, taking and deſtroying the fort of Kotillah. Tage ul Maleck dying at that time, the vizarit was conferred upon his ſon. The ſultan turned from thence towards Gualier, where he raiſed contributions, and then haſtened to Attava, levying tribute on the ſon of Rai Sibbere, who then poſſeſſed that country. Falling ſick during his progreſs,

Dies.

he returned to Delhi, where he died on the 17th of Jemmad ul Awil, of this year. He reigned ſeven years, and a few months; and his death was greatly lamented by the people, being eſteemed a juſt, generous, and benevolent prince, for that age.

SEC-

SECTION V.

The reign of Moaz ul Dien Abul Fatte Sultan Mubarick Shaw.

A. D. 1421. Hig. 824.

WHEN Chizer Chan had, by the violence of his diſorder, loſt all hopes of recovery, he, three days before he expired, appointed his eldeſt ſon to ſucceed him in the empire. Accordingly, two days after the ſultan's death, Mubarick Shaw aſcended the throne, by the title of Moaz ul Dien Abul Fatte. The new emperor made the uſual appointments, raiſing Maleck Buddir, his couſin, to high honours; and Maleck Rigib ben Suldivi Nadir, to the government of Dibalpoor and Punjaab.

Sultan Mubarick aſcends the throne.

In the month of Jammud ul Awil, he received advices, that Jiſſerit, the brother of Shecha Gicker, who had, the preceding year, defeated and taken Sultan Ali, king of Caſhmire, upon his return from an expedition againſt Tatta, preſuming upon his own power and valour, had taken a reſolution to attempt the throne of Delhi. He, for this purpoſe, invited into his ſervice Maleck Taan, who had fled to the mountains, and appointed him Amir ul Omrah, or commander in chief of his troops. He ſoon over-run the countries of Punjaab and Lahore, ſeized upon Zirick Chan, governor of Jallender, by perfidious means, after which he took the place; and immediately thereafter beſieged Iſlam Chan in Sirhind.

Jiſſe it invades the empire.

Sultan Mubarick Shaw, though the ſolſtitial rains were then in their height, marched from Delhi, and upon his approach to Sirhind, Jiſſerit raiſed the ſiege, and retreated to Ludhana. Zirick Chan, at that place, found means to eſcape from him, and join the king. The emperor advanced towards Ludhana and Jiſſerit, croſſing the Suttuluz, encamped on the oppoſite bank; having firſt poſ-

The ſultan marches againſt him. Obliges him to fly.

ſeſſed

A. D. 1421. Hig. 825.

ſeſſed himſelf of all the boats upon the river, which circumſtance obliged Mubarick to halt, till the water ſhould fall at Kabulpoor, Jiſſerit, in the mean time, being determined to oppoſe his paſſage. Upon the 11th of Shuwal, Maleck Secunder Topha Vizier, Zirick Chan, Mahmood Haſſen, Maleck Callu, and other omrahs, according to the ſultan's order, made a forced march, and forded the river, the Sultan himſelf following them cloſe to ſupport them with the body of the army. Jiſſerit, by this means, was thrown into confuſion, and turned his face to flight. The Sultan kept cloſe to his heels, ſlew, in the purſuit, a great many of the enemy, and took all their baggage.

Jiſſerit, after this defeat, took refuge in the mountains, in a very diſtreſſed condition. But Rai Bimé of Jimmu, having directed the king's army to Bile, a ſtrong fort into which Jiſſerit had thrown himſelf, he fled to another place, but was purſued with great ſlaughter,

Mubarick rebuilds Lahore, and returns to Delhi.

and Mubarick Shaw, in the Mohirim, of 825, directed his march to Lahore, ordered the ruined palaces and fortifications to be repaired, and, appointing Malleck Haſſen governor, returned to Delhi.

Jiſſerit beſieges Lahore without ſucceſs.

Jiſſerit, collecting his ſcattered forces, took the field again, and inveſted Lahore for five months, without ſucceſs. He then raiſed the ſiege, retired to Callanore, and fell upon Rai Bimé, for having given aſſiſtance to the king; but the action, which enſued between them, being undeciſive, Jiſſerit went to the banks of the Bea, and began to recruit his army.

In the mean time, Malleck Secunder Topha, who had been ſent to ſuccour Lahore, joined by Malleck Rigib, governor of Debalpoor, and by Iſlam Chan Lodi, governor of Sirhind, advanced towards Jiſſerit, and obliged him to croſs the Ravi and Chinaab, and

Is obliged to take ſhelter in the mountains.

to take ſhelter among the hills. Secunder Topha marched along the Ravi to Callanore; and, upon the frontiers of Jimmu, Rai Bimé joined

joined him, and leading the imperial troops through the hills, where the Gickers were concealed, ſome thouſands of that unhappy people were put to the ſword, and Topha returned to Lahore. A. D. 1421. Hig. 825.

Theſe ſucceſſes prevailed upon the king to appoint Topha viceroy of Lahore, and to recall Haſſen. But, in the year eight hundred and twenty ſix, the Sultan deprived him of the vizarit, and conferred it upon Surur ul Muluck, whom he diſpatched againſt the Hindoos of Kittar. The emperor himſelf followed that general with a greater army. The inhabitants of Kittar were ſubdued, and a great tribute exacted from them. The Sultan having ſettled affairs with Mahabut Chan, governor of Budaoon, commanded him to march againſt the tribe of Toor, whom that general plundered, and took priſoners to a man. The Raja of Attava having, at this time, withdrawn himſelf from the king's camp, Sultan Mubarick purſued him to that place, and beſieged him there. But terms of peace were ſettled between them, and the Raja's ſon given as a hoſtage for his father's future good behaviour. The king, after theſe tranſactions, returned to Delhi. Sultan Mubarick invades Kittar.

Malleck Haſſen was, about this time, appointed Buxſhi, or paymaſter and commander in chief of the troops. Jiſſerit, unconquered by his misfortunes, raiſed again his head, and, having defeated and ſlain Rai Bimé, by a freſh acquiſition of reputation and wealth, raiſed an army of Gickers, with which he again attempted the conqueſt of Delhi. Having ravaged the countries of Lahore and Debalpoor, he collected together very conſiderable plunder, but when Malleck Secunder Topha advanced againſt him, he did not chuſe to riſque a battle, and therefore retired, with his ſpoils, to the hills, where he buſied himſelf in recruiting his army for another attempt.

In the mean time, Jiſſerit made an alliance with Amir Ali, a Mogul Omrah, a ſubject of Mirza Sharoch, who reſided at Cabul.

A D. 1423. Hig. 827. He perſuaded Amir Ali to make an incurſion into the territories of Seiſtan, Backer, and Tatta, to draw off the king's attention from Delhi, and ſo to facilitate his own ſchemes. Malleck Alla ul Dien, regent of Moultan, dying about this time, and the news of Amir Ali's incurſion being noiſed abroad, the ſultan, without delay, ſent Malleck Mahummud Haſſen, with the army, towards Moultan. Sultan Hoſhung, raja of Malava, had, in the ſame year, inveſted Gualier, which obliged Sultan Mubarick Shaw to raiſe all the forces of thoſe provinces, and to march againſt him; levying, on his way, contributions upon Amir Chan, of Biana.

Defeated by Mubarick. Sultan Hoſhung, upon the approach of Mubarick, croſſed the Chumbul, and ſat down on the oppoſite bank. Mubarick Shaw having, in the mean time, found another ford, croſſed the river with great expedition, attacked Hoſhung in his camp, took many priſoners, and a part of the enemy's baggage. The priſoners being found to be Mahommedans, were diſmiſſed by the king. Hoſhung thought it then adviſeable to compound all differences, by paying down a ſum of money to the ſultan; upon which he was permitted to withdraw towards Dhar. Mubarick Shaw having tarried for ſome time in that place, to levy contributions upon the neighbouring Zemindars, returned, in the month of Rigib, eight hundred and twenty ſeven, to Delhi.

Sues for peace.

The ſultan, next year, made a motion towards Kittar, where Rai Narſingh came to the banks of the Ganges, to pay his reſpects to him; but as he did not pay the revenues of his territory, for three years back, he was confined for a few days, till his accounts were ſettled, and then he was releaſed. The ſultan croſſed the river, chaſtiſed ſome riotous Zemindars, and returned to Delhi. He did not remain there many days, before he drew his army towards Mewat, from whence he drove the rebels to the hills, and ravaging their country, returned to Delhi; and permitting his omrahs to retire

Mubarick reduces Mewat, and diſmiſſes his army.

tire to their jagiers, he gave himſelf up to pleaſure and feſtivity. A. D. 1423. Hig. 827.

But the inhabitants of Mewat, rendered more deſperate and diſtreſſed by the king's bad policy, in ruining their country, were obliged to prey upon their neighbours, and to infeſt all the adjacent countries. This circumſtance obliged the king, in the year eight hundred and twenty nine, to collect again an army to ſubdue them. Upon his approach, Jillu and Kiddu, the grandſons of Badhader Nahir, retreated to the hills of Alwar, where they defended the paſſes with great bravery. Being, at length, reduced to great diſtreſs, they ſurrendered themſelves, were impriſoned, their country was again ravaged, and the ſultan returned to Delhi. Diſturbances in Mewat.

But the diſtreſſes of the people of Mewat did not render them peaceable ſubjects. The ſultan, after a receſs of four months only, was again obliged to turn his arms againſt them, and to carry fire and ſword through their whole country. He proceeded as far as Biana, where, after the death of Amir Chan, his brother Mahummud held the chief ſway. Upon the approach of the ſultan, Mahummud ſhut himſelf up in the city, which he held out againſt the king ſixteen days; but, upon the deſertion of the greateſt part of the garriſon, he ſurrendered at diſcretion, and was, with a rope about his neck, brought into the preſence. The ſultan delivered the city to the care of Muckbul Chan, and ſent Mahummud and his family to Delhi. To Malleck Cheir ul Dien Topha he gave in charge the town of Sikri, known now by the name of Fattipoor, marched to Gualier, raiſed contributions there, and returned to Delhi. He removed, at that time, Mahummud Haſſen from the government of Moultan to that of Firoſa, beſtowing the former upon Malleck Rigib Nadir. Mewat again reduced.

A. D. 1423. Hig. 827. Mahummud Chan eſcapes, and raiſes diſturbances.

During theſe tranſactions Mahummud Chan found means to eſcape, with his family, to Mewat, and collecting a conſiderable force, took the city of Biana, in the abſence of Muckbul Chan, on an expedition to Mahaban. The ſultan diſpatched Malleck Mubariz, whom he appointed to that government, to drive Mahummud Chan from thence. Mahummud retired into the fort, when Malleck Mubariz took poſſeſſion of the country. After a few days ſiege he left the defence of the place to ſome truſty friends, and, iſſuing out himſelf, eſcaped to Sultan Ibrahim Shirki, who was advancing with an army againſt Calpee.

Flies to Sultan Ibrahim Shirki.

Kadir Shaw, governor of Calpee, upon this occaſion ſent expreſſes to Delhi, for ſuccours. Mubarick Shaw haſtened to his relief, and having reached Aterawli, detached Malleck Mahummud Haſſen, with ten thouſand horſe, againſt Muchtiſs Chan, the brother of Sultan Shirki, who was in motion with a conſiderable force to reduce Attava. This detachment, however, encountering Muchtiſs, drove him back to his brother, and Mahummud Haſſen returned to the army.

Sultan Shirki advanced along the banks of the Black River to Burhanabad, from thence to the village of Raberi, and ſo on to the banks of Kinhire, where he encamped. Mubarick Shaw, in the mean time, croſſing the Jumna, near Chundwar, encamped within five crores of the enemy. Both armies remained in their trenches for the ſpace of twenty-two days, during which time, ſlight ſkirmiſhes daily happened between them. Sultan Shirki, however, upon the ſeventh of Jemmad ul Achir, marched out of his camp, and offered battle to the king. Mubarick Shaw, though he declined to riſque his own perſon, ordered out his army to oppoſe Shirki, under the command of his Vizier Surur ul Muluck, Seid ul Sadit, and Seid Sallam.

Sultan Shirki advances againſt Mubarick.

The

A. D. 1427. Hig. 831.

The action commenced, with great fury, about noon, and night parted the combatants; both armies retreating to their reſpective camps. Sultan Shirki, however, marched off, in the morning, towards Jionpoor, while Mubarick Shaw, contenting himſelf with the advantage he had gained, returned towards Gualier, croſſing the river at Hitgaut. Having received there the uſual preſents, he turned off towards Biana, into which Mahummud Chan had again thrown himſelf, after the battle. He made a gallant defence, but was again obliged to capitulate, and had leave to go whitherſoever he pleaſed. Mahummud Haſſen was left in the government of that province; and on the fifteenth of Shaban, eight hundred and thirty one, Sultan Mubarick returned victorious and triumphant to Delhi. He there ſeized Malleck Kuddu Mewati, who had joined himſelf to Sultan Shirki, and ordered him to be put to death.

The armies engage.

A drawn battle.

Mubarick returns to Delhi.

In the month of Zicada the ſultan received advices, that Jiſſerit had ſat down before Callanore, after having defeated Malleck Secunder, who had marched againſt him, and driven him back to Lahore. Mubarick Shaw ſent an order to Zirick Chan, governor of Samana, and Iſlam Chan, who commanded at Sirhind, to join Malleck Secunder; but, before their arrival, he had marched towards Callanore, and defeated Jiſſerit in his turn; depriving him of all the plunder he had acquired in that province.

Jiſſerit beſieges Callanore,

is defeated.

Sultan Mubarick Shaw marched to Mewat, in the month of Mohirrim, eight hundred and thirty two, and entirely ſubdued that country, obliging the inhabitants to pay a regular tribute. In the mean time advices arrived at Delhi, that Malleck Rigib Nadir was dead, upon which, the ſultan conferred the title of Ameid ul Muluck upon Mahummud Haſſen, who had ſettled the affairs of Biana, and ſent him governor to Moultan. The ſultan, in the following year, proceeded to Gualier, which country he ravaged, and carried off ſome thouſands of the poor inhabitants into ſlavery.

Sultan Mubarick ſubdues Mewat.

Turning

A. D. 1429. Hig. 833. Turning then his forces towards Raberi, he wreſted that country from the ſon of Haſſen Chan, gave it to Malleck Humza, and afterwards returned to Delhi. Seid Allum dying by the way, his eldeſt ſon had the title of Seid Chan conferred upon him, and the youngeſt that of Suja ul Muluck, together with all the wealth of their father, which was very great; though, according to the cuſtom of Hindoſtan, it ſhould become the property of the king.

Ingratitude of the ſons of Seid Allum. Theſe favours, however, did not ſecure the faith of the ſons of Seid Allum, for they ſent Fowlad, a Turkiſh ſlave, to Tibberhind, to ſtir up privately, in their name, an inſurrection there. They had formed hopes, it is ſaid, that they might be ſent with a force to ſuppreſs the rebellion, and ſo have an opportunity to join the rebels. But the plot was diſcovered, and both impriſoned; while, in the mean time, Malleck Euſuph and Rai Ibbu, were ſent to Tibberhind to confiſcate their eſtates, and ſuppreſs the diſturbance raiſed by Fowlad.

Rebellion of Fowlad. Fowlad entering into a negotiation, lulled into a negligent ſecurity the imperial generals, and ſallying one night from his fort, ſurprized their camp. He was, however, ſo warmly received by the king's troops, that he was ſoon driven back. This did not deter him from making another effort next night, at the ſame time making a great diſcharge of artillery from the works, which ſtruck a panic into the imperial troops, who took immediately to their heels, leaving their camp ſtanding, with all their baggage. Sultan Mubarick, upon receiving advice of that diſaſter, was conſtrained to march towards Tibberhind in perſon. The rebel daily gathered ſtrength, and the king was obliged to call Ameid ul Muluck from Moultan, and ſeveral other governors, to join him. Every thing for the expedition being prepared, the ſultan ſtopped at Surſutti, and diſpatched the greateſt part of his army to inveſt the fort of Tibberhind. Fowlad ſent a meſſage to the imperial camp, importing, that he had

Mubarick marches againſt him.

great

great confidence in Ameid ul Muluck, and ſaid, that if he ſhould be ſent with promiſe of pardon, he himſelf would deliver up the place. The ſultan accordingly ſent Ameid ul Muluck to Tibberhind, where Fowlad met him a little without the gate. Having accordingly received aſſurances of pardon, he promiſed to give up the place the next day. But one of Ameid ul Muluck's attendants, who was of Fowlad's acquaintance, told him privately, that though Ameid ul Muluck was a man of ſtrict honour, and would certainly adhere to his promiſe, yet the king might not be ſo tender of preſerving his, and that it was very probable he might bring Fowlad to puniſhment. Fowlad, after the conference was over, revolved this intimation in his own mind, and repented ſeriouſly of his promiſe; and, therefore, as he had both money and proviſions, he determined to hold out to the laſt. A. D. 1429. Hig. 833.

The ſultan ſeeing that the taking of the place would be a work of time, and that there would be no occaſion for ſo great an army to beſiege it, he permitted Ameid ul Muluck to return with the forces of Moultan, and leaving Iſlam Chan Lodi, Cummal Chan, and Rai Firoſe, to carry on the ſiege, he himſelf retired to Delhi. Fowlad having held out ſix months, he was greatly diſtreſſed, and ſaw no means of extricating himſelf, but by an alliance with Amir Shech Ali, governor of Cabul, on the part of Mirza Sharoch, the Mogul king. He ſent, for this purpoſe, meſſengers to him, with large promiſes for his aſſiſtance. As Sultan Mubarick Shaw had taken no pains to keep upon good terms with the Mogul, the latter left Cabul, and, being in his way joined by the Gickers, croſſed the Bea, and ravaged the countries of thoſe omrahs who carried on the ſiege; and advancing towards Tibberhind, the imperial army decamped and fled. Fowlad, for this ſignal ſervice, gave to Shech Ali two lacks of rupees, and other preſents; and having given to him all the charge of his family, exerted himſelf in repairing the fortifications, and laying in proviſions and ammunition. Beſieges him. The ſiege raiſed by the Moguls.

Amir

A. D. 1429. Hig. 833. who ravage the country.

Amir Shech Ali, croſſing the Suttuluz, committed cruel depredations upon the unhappy country, acquiring of plunder twenty times the value of the ſubſidy which he had received from Fowlad. Advancing then to Lahore, he raiſed the uſual tribute from Secunder Topha, then returned towards Dibalpoor, deſolating the country wherever he went; inſomuch that forty thouſand Hindoos were computed to have been maſſacred, beſides a greater number carried away priſoners. Ameid ul Muluck poſted himſelf to oppoſe Ali, at the town of Tilbanna, but he gave him the ſlip, and went to Chitpoor, when Ameid ul Muluck received the ſultan's orders to

March to Moultan.

retreat to ſave Moultan. The flight of the imperial army encouraged the enemy to follow them beyond the Ravi, and to lay waſte the country, to within ten crores of Moultan. Ali defeated there Iſlam Chan Lodi, who had been left to ſtop his progreſs.

From thence the Moguls advanced to Cheirabad, within three crores of the city, and the next day, which was the fourth of Ramzan, they made an aſſault upon the place, but were beat back. They continued, however, from their camp to make daily excurſions towards the city, putting all whom they could meet to the ſword.

The ſultan ſends an army againſt them.

The ſultan being informed of theſe tranſactions, ſent Fatte Chan and Mubarick Chan of Guzerat, with Zirick Chan, Malleck Calla Shenipile, Malleck Euſoph, Kummal Chan, Rai Hibbu, and other omrahs of diſtinction, to ſuccour Ameid ul Muluck; who, upon being joined by all theſe with their forces, went out, and offered battle to Ali. Ali did not decline it, and a furious conflict enſued, in the beginning of which the Moguls gained ſome advantage.

The Moguls overthrown.

However, upon the death of Fatte Chan, the gale of fortune changed, and blew with the ſtandards of Hindoſtan. Shech Ali, at one ſtroke, played away all his gains, eſcaping, with a few attendants only, to Cabul, his whole army being either killed or drowned in the Gelum, in their precipitate flight.

Ameid

Ameid ul Muluck, having purſued the runaways to Shinnore, returned victorious to Moultan, and the omrahs, who had ſuccoured him, repaired, by the king's orders, to Delhi; and ſoon after, the ſultan, jealous of the ſucceſs of Ameid ul Muluck, called him alſo to court. Jiſſerit took advantage of his abſence, croſſed the Gelum, Ravi, and Bea, and fought Malleck Secunder Topha, near Jillender, defeated and took him priſoner, with all his treaſure and baggage. He forthwith advanced and beſieged Lahore. Shech Ali, at the ſame time, at the inſtigation of Jiſſerit, made another incurſion towards Moultan, and, having taken Tilbunna, by capitulation, he broke his word, plundered the place, maſſacred all the men able to bear arms, and carried their wives and children into captivity, laying the town in ruins.

A. D. 1436. Hig. 834.

Jiſſerit invades the empire.

Beſieges Lahore.

Fowlad, taking alſo advantage of theſe diſturbances, marched out of Tibberhind, and invading the country of Rai Firoſe, defeated him. Sultan Mubarick Shaw thought it now high time to march from Delhi. He, accordingly, upon the firſt of Jemmad ul Awil, eight hundred and thirty-five, took the route of Lahore, appointing Malleck Surûr, his vizier, governor of that place, and to command in the van of his army. Malleck Surûr arriving at Sammana, Jiſſerit raiſed the ſiege of Lahore, and retreated to the hills. Shech Ali haſtened back to Cabul, and Fowlad again ſhut himſelf up in Tibberhind. The Sultan, upon this, took the government of Lahore from the vizier, and gave it to Nuſerit Chan Birkandaz; then returning, encamped near Panniput, on the banks of the Jumna, ſending Ameid ul Muluck with a part of the army to ſuppreſs ſome inſurrections about Gualier, and Malleck Surûr to beſiege Tibberhind; he himſelf returning to Delhi.

Sultan Mubarick raiſes the ſiege.

In the month of Zihidge, Jiſſerit advanced again to Lahore, and commenced hoſtilities againſt Nuſerit Chan, which obliged the ſultan, in the year eight hundred and thirty-ſix, to march from Delhi as far as Sammana. Intelligence was brought to him in that place of the death

Mubarick marches againſt Jiſſerit.

A. D. 1432. Hig. 836. of his mother, Muchduma Jehan, and he immediately returned, with a few attendants; and, after performing the funeral obſequies, went back to his army. After his arrival in the camp, he ſuddenly changed his reſolution, and turned back towards Mewat, conferring the government of Lahore upon Malleck Alleh Daad Lodi, who promiſed to expel Jifferit. But Jifferit, upon hearing of the ſultan's return, was joined by a great body of Gickers, who imagined that his affairs bore a better aſpect, ſo that he was in a condition to receive Alleh Daad Lodi, whom he defeated.

The ſultan having received the news of this overthrow, and alſo that Shech Ali, governor of Cabul, was coming towards Tibberhind, took again the rout of Punjaab, ſending before him Ameid ul Muluck to reinforce the omrahs who were beſieging Tibberhind. Upon his approach, Malleck Shech Ali, who ſtood in awe of him, laid aſide his intentions of coming to Tibberhind, and turned away, by forced marches, towards Lahore, which he ſurprized, and began a horrid ſcene of maſſacre and depredation. But hearing that the ſultan had reached Tilbundi, Ali left a garriſon of two thouſand men in the place, and retreated towards Cabul, ravaging the country in his way, and leaving his nephew, Muziffer, in the fort of Shinnore.

Shech Ali takes Lahore,

The ſultan, a ſecond time advanced Malleck Secunder Topha, who had ranſomed himſelf, to the government of Lahore, Dibalpoor, and Jillender, upon which he advanced and laid ſiege to the city. He took it by capitulation, and permitted the garriſon to retire to Cabul. He immediately croſſed the Ravi, near Tilbundi, and inveſted Shinnore. Malleck Muziffer held up in that place the ſtandard of oppoſition for a whole month, but being hard preſſed, he capitulated, by giving his daughter to the ſultan, and paying a great ranſom for his liberty. Mubarick left a great part of his army at Dibalpoor, and, with a ſelect body, marched himſelf to Moultan to viſit the tombs of the ſaints, from whence he returned in a few

which is retaken by Mubarick.

Shinnore capitulates.

days

days to his camp. He, at this time, turned Secunder Topha again out of his government of Lahore, and gave it to Ameid ul Muluck, and returned with great expedition to Delhi. Being jealous of the power of Surûr ul Malleck, the vizier, he joined Kammal ul Dien with him in the vizarit; and, the latter being esteemed a man of superior abilities, he soon gained the favour of his sovereign and the people. A. D. 1432. Hig. 836.

A conspiracy formed against the sultan.

Surûr ul Malleck became dissatisfied, and began to project treason. Having gained over Sidarin and Sidpal, two great Hindoo chiefs of the tribe of Kittrie, Miran Sidder, deputy to the Aziz Mumalick, Cafi Abdul Summud, lord of the private chambers, and others, they watched an opportunity to assassinate the king.

About this time, Mubarick Shaw had ordered a city to be founded upon the banks of the Jumna, calling it Mubarick Abad, and made an excursion towards Tibberhind, as it were to take the diversion of hunting. Having, on the way, received advices that Tibberhind was taken, and being presented with the head of Fowlad, he returned to Mubarick Abad. He there received intelligence that war was carrying on between Sultan Ibrahim Shirki, and Sultan Hoshung Malavi, near Calpie, which was a very agreeable piece of news to Mubarick Shaw, who sought an opportunity to expel Sultan Shirki from his dominions. He therefore gave orders to muster his army, and pitching his tent without the city, delayed a few days in regulating and collecting his forces, during which time he continued to visit the new works without fear of danger, having never given offence to his nobility, except in changing or turning them out of their governments when they misbehaved.

He is assassinated.

Upon the ninth of the month of Rigib, in the year eight hundred and thirty-seven, according to his custom, he went to worship at a new mosque which he had built at Mubarick Abad, with only a few attendants. The conspirators rushed in, in armour, with drawn

A. D. 1433. Hig. 837. swords upon him, and basely assassinated him. Surûr ul Malleck having previously settled matters with Sultan Mahummud, one of the grandsons of Chizer Chan, raised that prince to the throne.

His character. Mubarick Shaw reigned thirteen years, three months, and sixteen days. He was esteemed a man of parts, just and benevolent, and, though no great warrior, had he lived in a virtuous age, there is no doubt but he possessed talents which might render him worthy of a throne.

SECTION VI.

The reign of Sultan MAHUMMUD SHAW BEN FERID CHAN BEN CHIZER CHAN.

Mahummud Shaw mounts the throne. ACCORDING to the custom of the world, which cannot subsist without rule, the same day that Sultan Mubarick Shaw was sent to eternity, Mahummud Shaw was established upon the throne. The ungrateful assassin, Surûr ul Malleck, received the title of Chan Jehan, and seized upon the king's treasure, regalia, and other effects, discharging all the old omrahs from office, and appointing new ones, who might, in time, serve his ambitious views.

The omrahs disguise their discontent. Kummal ul Malleck, and other omrahs, who were in the camp, having consulted among themselves, upon hearing of the king's death, resolved, rather than kindle a civil war in the country, to bear with the times, to pay allegiance to the new king, and to wait a more proper and more certain opportunity of taking revenge upon the conspirators. They came into the city and paid their compliments to Mahummud Shaw. The first preferments, which the

vizier

vizier gave away to facilitate his future ſchemes, was to appoint the two Hindoo conſpirators to the governments of Biana, Amrohi, Narnoul, and Coram; and Miran Sidder, with the title of Moain ul Malleck, was preſented with a very conſiderable jagier. The ſon of Seid Salem was dignified with the title of Chan Azim Seid Chan, and the government of ſeveral countries were conferred upon him. But the omrahs, and dependants of Mubarick Shaw, were, by tricks and falſe accuſations, killed, impriſoned, baniſhed, robbed, or turned out of office. A. D. 1433. Hig. 837. The vizier's tyranny.

A ſlave of Surûr ul Malleck, whoſe name was Rana Shech, was ſent collector of the revenues to Biana, but Euſoph Chan Lodi fought and ſlew him near that place. At the ſame time ſome of the omrahs of Mubarick Shaw and of Chizer Chan, who ſaw that there was a deſign on foot to deprive them of their jagiers, particularly Malleck Chimun, governor of Budaoon, Malleck Alleh Daad Lodi, who commanded at Simbol, Meer Ali of Guzerat, and Amir Shech, the Turk, erected the ſpear of rebellion, upon which the vizier, deceived by the behaviour of Kummal ul Malleck, gave him the command of the army, and ſent Chan Azim Sidarin, and his own ſon Euſoph, along with him, to ſuppreſs the rebels. But when they came to the village of Birren, Kummal ul Malleck intended to take revenge on Sidarin and Euſoph, for the murder of the king. He therefore acquainted Malleck Allah Daad Lodi of his reſolutions, who, for that reaſon, made no motion towards them. This deſign being, however, diſcovered to the vizier, he ſent Malleck Hoſhiar, his own ſlave, with a great army, under pretence of ſuccours, with private inſtructions, to prevent the effects of the plot. Kummal ul Malleck, however, had, at Ahare, joined his forces with Malleck Alla Daad Lodi, before the reinforcement, under the vizier's ſlave, arrived. Hoſhiar, hearing of this junction, thought that there was no ſafety for him, and he, therefore, fled, with Euſoph and Sidarin, to Delhi. Kummal ul Malleck The omrahs riſe in arms. The vizier's army revolts,

A. D. 1433. Hig. 837. and march to Delhi.

Malleck immediately ſent to call the diſaffected omrahs, who joined him without delay, ſo that, upon the laſt of Ramzan, he moved, with a great army, towards Delhi.

The vizier beſieged in the citadel.

The vizier ſhut himſelf up in the citadel of Seri, which he held out three months; but as the party of Kummal ul Malleck daily gained ſtrength and reputation, he was driven to great diſtreſs.

The ſultan plots againſt him.

Sultan Mahummud Shaw, perceiving that his own affairs would be ruined, if he ſhould adhere to the vizier, endeavoured to conciliate matters with the beſiegers, and, at the ſame time, ſought an opportunity of making his eſcape, or cutting off the vizier.

His counter-plot.

The vizier diſcovering this plot, deſigned to be beforehand with the ſultan; accordingly, upon the eighth of Mohirrim, with the ſons of Miran Sidder, and with ſome of his own adherents, he broke into the king's apartment. But Mahummud, having ſuſpected him of ſuch intentions, had privately a guard at hand, who, on a ſignal given, ruſhed upon the conſpirators. They immediately betook themſelves to flight; but the vizier was cut to pieces, as he was ruſhing out of the door, and thus met the fate which he deſigned for his lord.

Is ſlain.

The ſons of Miran Sidder, and the reſt of the aſſaſſins, were taken, and put to death, while Malleck Hoſhiar and Malleck Mubarick, who were parties concerned, were publickly executed. The Kittries, and other adherents of Surûr ul Malleck, afraid of themſelves, roſe up in arms. The king was obliged to ſhut himſelf up, ordering the Bagdat-gate to be thrown open to the beſiegers, who, ruſhing in accordingly, began a dreadful maſſacre among the rebels, till they entirely ſubdued them. Such as remained alive were bound and ſacrificed at the tomb of Sultan Mubarick Shaw.

Puniſhment of the murderers of Mubarick.

The omrahs ſwear allegiance to Mahummud Shaw.

Kummal ul Malleck, and the other omrahs, ſwore allegiance the next day, for the ſecond time, to Mahummud Shaw; Malleck having

having the title of Kummal Chan, with the vizarit conferred upon him, Malleck Chimun being dignified with the title of Ghazi Malleck, and a jagier. The other omrahs were confirmed in their former offices, governments, and eſtates. A. D. 1434. Hig. 838.

When matters were completely ſettled at Delhi, the king, by the advice of his counſellors, made a campaign towards Moultan, and encamping near Mubarickpoor, gave orders to draw together his army from all the provinces. Many of the omrahs, being intimidated, delayed to repair to the imperial ſtandard till Ameid ul Muluck arrived from Moultan, adding power to enforce the royal commands, by a numerous army, which he brought with him. All the other provincial omrahs haſtened to the camp, and were honored with dreſſes, and other marks of favor and diſtinction. The ſultan moved towards Moultan, to make a parade with his army, and, having viſited the tombs of the ſaints, returned to his capital. The ſultan marches towards Moultan,

In the year eight hundred and forty, he marched towards Sammana, and detached a part of his army againſt Jifferit, the Gicker, who was raiſing diſturbances. The country of Jifferit was plundered, and the king returned to Delhi, where he gave himſelf up entirely to pleaſure, neglecting all the cares and neceſſary affairs of government. The accounts of the ſultan's luxurious indolence ſoon affected the ſtate. Diſſatisfaction began to appear firſt in Moultan, where a tribe of Patans, called Linga, roſe in rebellion. At the ſame time, Malleck Beloli Lodi, who, after the death of his uncle, Iſlam Chan, became governor of Sirhind, without any orders, poſſeſſed himſelf of the city and diſtricts of Lahore and Debalpoor, with all the country back to Panniput. and to Sammana. Gives himſelf up to indolence and pleaſure. A revolt in Moultan.

The ſultan receiving intelligence of this revolt, ſent his whole army againſt him, who drove him back to the hills. In the retreat many chiefs of diſtinction were put to the ſword, but Malleck Beloli Malleck Beloli defeats the imperial army.

A. D. 1438. Hig. 842. Ioli recruited his army, and, when the ſultan's forces were withdrawn, he again poſſeſſed himſelf of all the countries from which they had driven him. The ſultan, this time, ſent Hiſſam Chan, the vizier's deputy, againſt him, who was defeated, and beat back to Delhi; upon which, Malleck Beloli wrote to the ſultan, that if he would put Hiſſam Chan to death, who, by his intrigues, had been the occaſion of this rebellion, he would lay down his arms.

The ſultan's conceſſions to the rebels, The ſultan was weak enough to liſten to this arrogant propoſal, and accordingly gave orders for the death of Hiſſam Chan. He alſo deprived Kummal Chan of the vizarit, and conferred it upon Hamid Chan, appointing another perſon deputy, with the title of Hiſſam Chan. The governors of the provinces obſerving this puſillanimous and impolitic behaviour of the king, predicted his deſtruction, and endeavoured to ſecure their own independency; while the ſubjects and zemindars, foreſeeing the convulſions that muſt have inſued in the ſtate, with-held their rents, in hopes that they might be paſſed over, in the general confuſion,

alienate the minds of his ſubjects.

Confuſions in the empire.

A. D. 1440. Hig. 844. Sultan Ibrahim Shirki poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral diſtricts adjoining to his dominions, and Sultan Mahmood Chillegi, king of Malava, made an attempt on the capital; and, in the year eight hundred and forty four, advanced within two crores of the city. Mahummud Shaw, ſtruck with terror in this urgent ſituation of affairs, imprudently ſent an embaſſy to Malleck Beloli Lodi, to beg his aſſiſtance. Beloli accordingly, with twenty thouſand Perſian horſe, came to Delhi; Mahummud Shaw, though his army was greatly ſuperior to the enemy, was afraid to take the field by himſelf, but committed the charge of the whole to his omrahs, and repoſed himſelf in the Haram. The omrahs, according to orders, advanced with the army againſt the enemy, Malleck Beloli leading the van.

The impolitic and cowardly behaviour of the king.

When

When Sultan Mahmood Chilligi was given to underſtand, that the king of Delhi was not preſent, he thought it was meant as an affront to him; and, to be on a footing with Mahummud, he committed the charge of his army to his ſons Yeaz ul Dien and Kuddir Chan. The two armies having engaged, the troops of Delhi gave way, and left Malleck Beloli alone to diſpute the field, which he maintained with invincible reſolution, till the fugitives, aſhamed of their behaviour, returned to the action. Night, however, coming on, the victory was left undecided. Sultan Mahmood Chilligi being greatly frightened by a dream that night, and having heard, in the morning, that Sultan Ahmed, of Guzerat, was advanced as far as Mundo, he was more and more intimidated, and began to be deſirous of making peace: but ſhame prevented him from expreſſing his wiſhes. At the ſame time, Sultan Mahummud, with leſs reaſon, and contrary to the advice of all his counſellors, gave himſelf up to baſe fear, and ſent ambaſſadors with preſents to his rival to beg peace.

A. D. 1441. Hig. 845.

A drawn battle.

A peace concluded.

Sultan Mahmood Chilligi was overjoyed at theſe propoſals, which ſaved the appearance of his reputation, and immediately accepting them, marched from the field. Malleck Beloli, who now began juſtly to deſpiſe them both, and to aſpire to the empire, marched out of the city with his own troops, and purſuing Sultan Mahmood Chilligi, attacked him upon his march, defeated him, and took all his baggage. The weak ſultan, who did not hitherto ſee through his palpable intentions, gave him the title of Chan Chanan, and adopted him for his ſon.

Mahmood Chilligi attacked and defeated by Beloli.

Beloli adopted by the ſultan.

In the year eight hundred and forty five, the ſultan marched to Sammana, giving the governments of Lahore and Debalpoor to Malleck Beloli, and ordering him to expel Jiſſerit. He himſelf returned to his capital. Malleck Beloli, by this means, became extremely powerful, and recruited a great army of Afghans; but, inſtead of

He marches againſt Delhi.

A. D. 1446. Hig. 850. fighting Jiſſerit, he brought him over to his party, and began to ſeize upon ſeveral diſtricts, without any orders from the king. At length, without any apparent reaſon, but his ambition, he drew his army againſt Delhi, which he beſieged for ſome months, but, in in the end, was obliged to abandon his enterprize.

The king's power declines.

The king's power was greatly weakened, and began to decay very rapidly. The zemindars of Biana put themſelves under the government of Sultan Mahmood Chilligi. In the mean time, Sultan

He dies.

Mahummud fell ſick and died, in the year eight hundred and forty

His character.

nine, leaving behind him the character of a weak, diſſolute, and unwarlike prince; owing to the ambition of others a throne, upon which he could not ſit with dignity himſelf. He reigned twelve years and ſome months, and his ſon Alla ul Dien ſucceeded him in the empire.

SECTION VII.

The reign of Sultan ALLA UL DIEN BEN MAHUMMUD SHAW.

Alla mounts the throne.

WHEN Sultan Alla ul Dien had placed his foot upon the muſnud of Delhi, all the omrahs, excepting Malleck Beloli Lodi, came and ſwore allegiance to him. This contempt of Beloli, the new ſultan was in no condition to chaſtiſe. But having collected an army, in the beginning of the year eight hundred and fifty, he marched to recover Biana. When he was upon the way, there was a rumor propagated, that the king of Jionpoor was advancing towards Delhi, which, though falſe, brought back the ſultan to his capital; though he was told by Hiſſam Chan, the vizier, how ridiculous it would appear in a king to be guided by a vague report. This reprimand brought upon the vizier the ſultan's diſpleaſure.

This

This ſtep, however, proved ruinous to the ſultan's reputation, and the meaneſt of the people feared not to ſay publickly, that he was a weaker man, and a greater fool, than his father. He marched in the following year to Budaoon, where he remained ſome time, laying out gardens, building pleaſure-houſes, and making entertainments, and then returned to Delhi. Pretending that the air of Budaoon agreed better with his health, he expreſſed an inclination of making that city his reſidence, to divert him from which, the vizier took much pains, but only incurred more and more his diſpleaſure.

A. D. 1447. Hig. 851. Loſes his reputation. His luxury.

All Hindoſtan was, at this time, divided into ſeparate ſtates; for in the Decan, Guzerat, Malava, Jionpoor, and Bengal, there were princes who aſſumed the ſtile and dignity of kings; while Punjaab, Debalpoor, and Sirhind, even to Panniput, was poſſeſſed by Malleck Beloli Lodi. Merowli, and all the country to the Serai of Lado, within ſeven crores of Delhi, were in the hands of Ahmed Chan of Mewat; Simbol, cloſe to the walls of the city, was poſſeſſed by Deria Chan Lodi; Kole, by Iſah Chan; Rabari, by Cuttub Chan, the Afghan; Cumpela and Pattiali, by Rai Partab; Biana was ſubject to Daood Chan Odi; ſo that the city of Delhi, and a few ſmall diſtricts, remained only to the king.

The ſtate of Hindoſtan. Decayed condition of the empire.

Malleck Beloli made, about this time, another attempt upon the city, but was not more ſucceſsful than he was before. The ſultan, relieved from this danger, began to conſult the means to recover part of his loſt empire, adviſing with Cuttub Chan, Iſah Chan, and Rai Partab. Theſe chiefs, deſirous to weaken him ſtill more, told him, that the omrahs were all diſguſted with his vizier; that, ſhould he be turned out of office, and impriſoned, they were ready to pay him due allegiance, and made no doubt but the affairs of the empire would put on a more favorable aſpect. The weak Alla became the dupe of thoſe traitors, and accordingly impriſoned and diſ-

Malleck Beloli makes an unſucceſsful attempt upon Delhi.

A. D. 1448. Hig. 852. graced his vizier. He immediately ordered preparations to be made for removing his court to Budaoon, from which not all the remonſtrances of his beſt friends could reſtrain him; though they repreſented, in a ſtrong light, how impolitic it would be, at ſuch a juncture, to change his capital.

Fixes his reſidence at Budaoon. Alla accordingly, in the year eight hundred and fifty two, ſet out for Budaoon, leaving Hiſſam Chan in the government of Delhi. When the ſultan arrived at this new capital, Cuttub Chan and Rai Partab waited upon him, and told him, that as long as the vizier was alive, the omrahs could not be brought to truſt themſelves at court. The weak king was prevailed upon to command him to be put to death; but the vizier's brother having notice given him of this bloody purpoſe, found means, with the aſſiſtance of ſome of his friends, to releaſe him, and to eſcape to Delhi. He there took immediate poſſeſſion of all the ſultan's effects, and turned his haram out of the city.

Orders the vizier to be put to death,

who eſcapes to Delhi,

The ſultan put off the time by ridiculous procraſtinations, and vain excuſes of the weather, and unlucky times, till the vizier had called Malleck Beloli to take upon him the empire. Beloli, glad of the opportunity, amuſed the ſultan, by writing to him, that he was coming to chaſtiſe the vizier, till he arrived and took poſſeſſion of the city, taking upon himſelf the title of Sultan Beloli. He, however, gave place to the name of Sultan Alla ul Dien, in the Chutba, in the year eight hundred and fifty four.

and places Sultan Beloli upon the throne.

He gave the city in charge to his ſon, Chaja Baezid, marched in perſon to Debalpoor, and collected together a great army of Afghans. He wrote, at the ſame time, to Sultan Alla ul Dien, that, upon his account, he had expelled the vizier; and he received for anſwer, from that weak prince, that as his father had adopted Beloli as his ſon, he would eſteem him his brother; he moreover promiſed

promiſed to cede to him the empire, upon condition that he would permit him to live quietly in the poſſeſſion of Budaoon. A. D. 1450. Hig. 854. Alla abdicates in favour of Beloli.

Sultan Beloli threw immediately the name of Alla out of the Chutba, and ſpread the umbrella of empire over his own head. Sultan Alla ul Dien remained at Budaoon till his death, which happened in the year eight hundred and eighty three; his reign in Delhi being ſeven years, and his government of Budaoon near twenty eight.

SECTION VIII.

The reign of Sultan BELOLI LODI.

BELOLI LODI was an Afghan, of the tribe of Lodi, which people, forming themſelves into a commercial ſociety, carried on a trade between Perſia and Hindoſtan. In the time of Sultan Firoſe Shaw, Malleck Ibrahim, the grandfather of Beloli, being poſſeſſed of wealth, made his way at the court of Delhi, and raiſed himſelf to the government of Moultan. Malleck Ibrahim had five ſons, Malleck Sultan Shech, Malleck Culla, Malleck Firoſe, Malleck Mahummud, and Malleck Chaja, who, on the death of their father remained in Moultan. Beloli's family.

When Chizer Chan was appointed to that government, Sultan Shech received the command of all his Afghan troops. In the action which Chizer Chan had with Eckbal Chan, Sultan Shech had the good fortune to kill Eckbal, by which means he became a great favorite with Chizer Chan. He was accordingly appointed by that prince governor of Sirhind, with the title of Iſlam Chan, while his brothers partook of his fortune. One of whom, Malleck Calla, the father of Sultan Beloli, had a diſtrict beſtowed upon him by his brother.

A D. 1450. Hig. 854. Account of his birth.

brother. The wife of Calla, who was his own couſin, being ſmothered by the fall of a houſe, when with child, the father inſtantly ripped up her belly, and ſaved the life of the infant, who afterwards held the empire, by the title of Sultan Beloli.

Diſtinguiſhes himſelf in an action.

Calla being killed in an action with the Afghans of Neaz, Beloli went to his uncle, Iſlam Chan, at Sirhind, and upon his diſtinguiſhing himſelf in a battle, his uncle gave him his own daughter in marriage. Iſlam Chan was, at this time, ſo powerful, that he retained twelve thouſand Afghans, moſtly of his own tribe, in his ſervice.

Iſlam Chan recommends Beloli to the government of Sirhind.

Iſlam Chan, at his death, though he had children of his own come to maturity, recommended Beloli to ſucceed him. The troops upon this divided into three parties, one of which adhered to Beloli, one to Malleck Firoſe, brother to Iſlam Chan, who had been made an omrah by the king of Delhi, and the other to Cuttub Chan, the ſon of Iſlam Chan. But Malleck Beloli, who was the moſt artful of the three, found means to weaken his rivals, and encreaſe his own power.

Cuttub Chan complains at the court of Delhi.

Cuttub Chan repaired to Delhi, and acquainted Sultan Mahummud Shaw, that the Afghans of Sirhind were eſtabliſhing a power, which, unleſs it was ſoon prevented, would ſhake the empire. The ſultan immediately diſpatched Secunder Topha, with a powerful army, to bring the chiefs of the Afghans to court, and if they diſobeyed, to expel them from Sirhind.

Perfidy of the imperial generals.

Jiſſerit was alſo inſtigated to take arms againſt them, by which means they were, in the end, driven to the hills; but upon a promiſe of peace, and of their future good behaviour, Malleck Firoſe left his ſon Shai Chan and Malleck Beloli with his army, and, with ſome attendants, went to Jiſſerit and Malleck Secunder Topha. They,

They, notwithſtanding their promiſe, by the advice of Cuttub Chan, impriſoned him and ſlew all his attendants. They alſo diſpatched part of their army to reduce Beloli, but he retreated to a place of ſafety, with the women and children. Before he could join Shai Chan, he was attacked and defeated, and a great part of his army ſlain. A. D. 1450. H.g. 854.

When Jiſſerit had retired to Punjaab, Beloli collected the remains of his tribe, and began to raiſe contributions, or plunder wherever he could, and as he was extremely generous in dividing the ſpoil among his followers, he ſoon became very powerful. Some time after Malleck Firoſe fled from Delhi, and joined him; and Cuttub Chan, repenting of his former behaviour, found means to be reconciled to Beloli. Beloli ſoon after invaded Sirhind, and poſſeſſed himſelf of that province. Upon receiving intelligence of theſe tranſactions, Sultan Mahummud Shaw ſent Hiſſam Chan, his vizier, with a great army againſt him. Malleck Beloli took the field, and giving the vizier battle, defeated him, by which his power and reputation greatly encreaſed. Beloli becomes powerful.

We are told, that when Beloli was yet a youth in his uncle's ſervice, one day he was permitted to pay his reſpects to a famous Dirveſh of Sammana, whoſe name was Sheidai. When he ſat in a reſpectful poſture before him, the Dirveſh cried out, in an enthuſiaſtick manner, "Who will give two thouſand rupees for "the empire of Delhi?" Upon which Malleck Beloli told him, he had only one thouſand ſix hundred rupees in the world, which he ordered his ſervant to bring immediately and preſent to the Dirveſh. The Dirveſh accepted the money, and, laying his hand upon the head of Beloli, ſaluted him king. Is promiſed the empire by a Dirveſh.

The companions of Beloli ridiculed him very much for this action; but he replied, "That, if the thing came to paſs, he had Reflexion upon that tale.

"made

" made a cheap purchaſe; if not, the bleſſing of a holy man could " do him no harm."

Upon a mind naturally ambitious, and in an age of ſuperſtition, this prediction of the Dirveſh might have great effect, in promoting its own end; for when a man's mind is once bent upon the attainment of one object, the greateſt difficulties will be often ſurmounted, by a ſteady perſeverance. But to return from this digreſſion.

A. D. 1450. Hig. 854. After Beloli had defeated the vizier, he wrote to the ſultan, as before related, laying the whole blame of his rebellion upon the vizier's conduct towards him. When the ſultan baſely complied with his deſire of cutting off the vizier, Beloli, according to his promiſe, waited upon the king, that he might be better able to carry on his intrigues at court. He managed his affairs at Delhi ſo well, that he got the government of Sirhind, and other diſtricts near it, confirmed to him in jagier; which were the means that enabled him to mount the muſnud, as we have already ſeen, in the former reign.

His ſons and relations. He had, at the time of his acceſſion, nine ſons, Chaja Baczid, Nizam Chan, who was afterwards Sultan Secunder; Barba Shaw, Mubarick Chan, Sultan Alla ul Dien, Jemmâl Chan, Miah Jacob, Miah Muſah, and Jellâl Chan; and of omrahs of renown, who were related to him, there were thirty ſix in the empire.

His ſtratagem againſt Hamid Chan. As Hamid Chan, the vizier, who conferred the empire upon him, had great influence ſtill in the ſtate, he treated him for ſome time with honor and reſpect. Being one day in Hamid Chan's houſe, at an entertainment, he ordered the companions whom he carried with him, to make themſelves appear as fooliſh and ridiculous as poſſible, that the vizier might conſider them as

ſilly

silly fellows; that so he might be less upon his guard against them. When they accordingly came into company, some tied their shoes to their girdles, and others put them up in the niches of the apartment. A. D. 1450. Hig. 854.

Hamid Chan asked them the reason of that extraordinary custom. They replied, that they were afraid of thieves. When they had taken their seats upon the carpet, one of them began to praise the flowers, and brightness of the colours, saying, He would be extremely glad to have such a carpet, to send home to his own country, to make caps for his boys. Hamid Chan laughed, and told him, he would give him velvet or brocade for that purpose. When the plates and boxes of perfumes were laid before them, some began to rub the finest otter of roses all over them, others to drink it, and others to devour whole festoons of flowers, while the beetle stood no chance, but was eat up, cover and all; some, who had eat large pieces of chunam, by having their mouths burnt, made a terrible outcry; and, in this kind of foolery every one was endeavouring to outdo another, while the king and the vizier were almost bursting with laughter.

The vizier, imagining that this behaviour proceeded from the king's humour, who had a mind to make merry in his house, was extremely pleased, and had no suspicion of men given to so much mirth. The next visit the king paid to Hamid Chan, a greater number of his attendants were admitted; but as Hamid Chan had still a greater number of his own friends within the court, it was necessary to gain admission for some more of the king's people, who were stopped without by the guards. The king having before instructed them how to proceed in this case, they began loudly to wrangle with the guard, and threw out bitter invectives against the king, for permitting them to be so unworthily treated. They even swore that they respected the vizier, and would see him.

A D. 1451. Hig. 855.

The vizier hearing this, ordered the doors to be thrown open, and as many to be admitted as the court could contain. This point being gained, the king gave the ſignal, and all his people drawing at once, told Hamid Chan's ſervants to remain quiet, and they ſhould come to no harm. Upon which two or three ſeized the vizier, and bound him. The king then told him, that gratitude was a ſecurity for his life, but that it was neceſſary he ſhould retire from buſineſs, and ſpend the reſt of his days in the cares of a future ſtate. After this the king ruled without fear or controul.

The vizier ſeized in his own houſe.

The ſame year, the eight hundred and fifty fifth of the Higera, he left Delhi, under the charge of his eldeſt ſon, Chaja Baëzid, and marched towards Moultan to recruit his army, and to regulate all theſe weſtern provinces. Some of his omrahs being diſſatisfied at this time, left him, and joined Sultan Mahmood Shirki, of Jionpoor, who, during the abſence of Beloli, in the beginning of the year eight hundred and fifty ſix, advanced with a great army, and laid ſiege to Delhi. Sultan Beloli haſtened from Debalpoor, march by march, nor halted till he reached Perah, within thirty miles of Delhi.

Beloli regulates the weſtern provinces.

Delhi beſieged.

Sultan Mahmood ſend thirty thouſand horſe, and thirty elephants, under the command of Fatti Chan Herevi againſt him. When the action began, Cuttub Chan, who excelled in archery, having ſunk an arrow in the forehead of one of Fatti Chan's elephants, the animal became outrageous, and broke the lines. Cuttub Chan, in the mean time, advancing againſt Diria Chan Lodi, one of the diſaffected omrahs, who had joined Sultan Mahmood, cried out—"For ſhame! Diria Chan, where is your honor, thus to wage war "againſt your own kindred, and to inveſt your wife and family in "the city of Delhi, when you ought rather to defend them againſt "your natural enemies?" "Purſue me not," ſaid Diria Chan, "and I am gone;" and he immediately wheeled off, followed by all the Patans, or Afghans, in Fatti Chan's army.

Beloli defeats the army of Sultan Shirki.

The

The other troops being thus deſerted, gave way, and Fatti Chan was taken priſoner; but having, with his own hand, juſt killed the brother of Rai Kirren, that omrah, in revenge, ſtruck off his head, and ſent it to the ſultan. Upon receiving the news of this defeat, Sultan Mahmood raiſed the ſiege of Delhi, and retreated with great precipitation to Jionpoor. A. D. 1452. Hig. 856. The ſiege of Delhi raiſed.

The ſultanit of Beloli became firmly eſtabliſhed, and he began to turn his thoughts upon new acquiſitions. His firſt movement was towards Mewat, where Hamid Chan ſubmitted himſelf to his authority. The ſultan took ſeven pergunnahs from him, and permitted him to hold the remainder in fee. Beloli from thence marched to Birren, and Diria Chan Lodi, governor of Simbol, preſented him with ſeven more pergunnahs, and ſubmitted in like manner. He then took the rout of Koli, and confirmed Iſah Chan in that government. He continued his progreſs to Barhanabad, and gave that province to Mubarick Chan, while Bowgaw was delivered over to Rai Partab. But when he advanced to Raberi, Cuttub Chan Ben Haſſin Chan ſhut himſelf up in the fort, but the ſultan took it in a few days by capitulation, and again ſettled him in the ſame government. Beloli marching from thence to Attava, he regulated that government, and confirmed the former Suba. Beloli's progreſs through ſeveral provinces. Their ſubmiſſion.

Jonah Chan quitted, about this time, the court in diſguſt, and joined Sultan Mahmood Shirki, from whom he received the government of Shumſeabad. Jonah inſtigated Sultan Mahmood to make another attempt upon Delhi, who, for that purpoſe, took the route of Attava, where he met Sultan Beloli. The armies, the firſt day of their appearance in ſight, on both ſides ſent out parties to ſkirmiſh, but nothing remarkable was done, and, the next day, they began to treat, when it was agreed, that Sultan Beloli ſhould keep poſſeſſion of all the countries poſſeſſed by Mubarick Shaw, and that Sultan Mahmood ſhould hold all that was in the poſſeſſion Sultan Shirki has deſigns upon Delhi. A peace between the Sultans.

of Sultan Ibrahim, of Jionpoor; that the former ſhould give up all the elephants taken in the engagement with Fatti Chan, and the latter turn Jonah Chan out of his government.

Sultan Mahmood, immediately after this pacification, returned to Jionpoor, and Sultan Beloli went to Shumſeabad to take poſſeſſion of it. This latter expedition of Beloli greatly offended Sultan Mahmood, and he immediately returned to Shumſeabad, where Cuttub Chan and Diria Chan Lodi ſurprized his camp in the night. But during the attack, the horſe of Cuttub Chan having trod upon a tent-pin, threw him, and he was taken by the enemy, and his party retreated to their own camp. Sultan Beloli drew out his army in the morning, but received advice that Sultan Mahmood had juſt expired, and that the omrahs had ſet up his ſon Mahummud Shaw; and, by the mediation of Bibi Raja, the young king's mother, who probably had received previous aſſurances, a peace was immediately concluded. Mahummud Shaw returned to Jionpoor, and Sultan Beloli took the rout of Delhi.

Shirki, offended at Beloli, marches againſt him.

Dies.

Before the ſultan arrived at the capital, he received a letter from Shumſh Chatoon, the ſiſter of Cuttub Chan, conjuring him, in the moſt tender manner, not to ſuffer her brother to remain in captivity. This prevailed upon Beloli to break up the peace he had juſt concluded, and to march towards Jionpoor. Mahummud Shaw met him near Sirſutti. The younger brother of Mahummud Shaw, Haſſen Chan, fearing his brother's reſentment for ſome treſpaſs, took this opportunity of marching off, with all his adherents, to Kinnoge. Sittal Chan, his other brother, ſoon followed him, but the detachment which Sultan Beloli had ſent after Haſſen Chan, met Sittal Chan on the way, and took him priſoner. The ſultan determined to keep him as a ranſom for Cuttub Chan.

In

In the mean time, the omrahs conſpired againſt Mahummud Shaw, and having aſſaſſinated him, advanced Haſſen Chan, who had fled to Kinnoge, to the throne. Sultan Beloli, for what reaſon we know not, took no advantages of theſe diſorders, but now entered into a truce with Sultan Haſſen Chan for the ſpace of four years; Cuttub Chan and Sittab Chan being interchangeably releaſed. Beloli marches againſt Mahummud, who is aſſaſſinated.

Beloli returned towards Shumſeabab, whither Bir-Singh, the ſon of Rai Partab, came to pay his compliments. But as his father had taken a ſtandard and a pair of drums formerly from Deria Chan in an action, that baſe man thought to wipe off that diſhonour by aſſaſſinating Bir-Singhi. Cuttub Chan, the ſon of Haſſen Chan, Mubariz Chan, and Rai Partab, differing with the cruel traitor about this murder, were obliged to fly to Sultan Haſſein. Beloli, after theſe tranſactions, returned to Delhi. Treachery of Diria Chan.

But, upon account of the rebellion of the viceroy of Moultan, and the diſorders in Punjaab, he marched towards that quarter. Upon his way, he heard that Sultan Haſſein Shirki was advancing, in his abſence, with a great army, to take Delhi. He therefore, through neceſſity, returned, and leaving Delhi in charge of Cuttub Chan and Chan Jehan, he went out to meet the enemy. The two armies having met at the village of Chundwar, hoſtilities continued without intermiſſion for ſeven days. A peace was at length patched up for the term of three years. Beloli marches againſt Sultan Haſſein. A peace.

At the expiration of this truce, Sultan Haſſein inveſted Attava, took it, and drew over Ahmed Chan of Mewat, and Ruſtum Chan of Koli, to his intereſt, while Ahmed Chan of Selwan, the governor of Biana, ſtruck money, and read the chutba in his name. Haſſein, with one hundred thouſand horſe and a thouſand elephants, marched from Attava towards Delhi; and Sultan Beloli, no ways intimidated Haſſein marches towards Delhi.

A. D. 1478. Hig. 883. intimidated by that great force, marched out boldly to meet him. The two armies having advanced to Battevara, encamped for ſome time in ſight of each other, and after ſome ſkirmiſhes, in which there was no ſuperiority of advantage on either ſide, they again ſtruck up a peace.

A peace.

But this pacification was not permanent. Sultan Haſſein advanced again towards Delhi ſome months after, and was oppoſed at the village of Sinkar, and obliged to depart upon peaceable terms.

Haſſein advances towards Delhi.

Much about this time, the mother of Sultan Haſſein, Bibi Raja, died at Attava, and the Raja of Gualier and Cuttub Chan Lodi, went to conſole him upon that occaſion. When in diſcourſe, Cuttub Chan perceived that Haſſein Chan was a bitter enemy of Beloli, he began to flatter him after this manner:—Beloli is one of your dependants, and cannot think of contending long with you. If I do not put you in poſſeſſion of Delhi, look on my word as nothing. He then, with much art, got leave to depart from Haſſein's court, and returned to Delhi, and there he told to Sultan Beloli that he had eſcaped with a great deal of difficulty from the hands of Sultan Haſſein, who was meditating a freſh war againſt him.

Sultan Alla dies.

About this time Sultan Alla ul Dien * died at Budaoon, upon which Sultan Haſſein went to ſettle matters at Budaoon, and, after the funeral ceremonies were over, he took that country from the children of Alla. Marching from thence to Simbol, he impriſoned Mubarick Chan, governor of that province, then marching towards Delhi, in the year eight hundred and eighty three, he croſſed the river Jumna near Gutteruitch. Sultan Beloli, who was at Sirhind, upon receiving intelligence of this invaſion, returned with all expedition to ſave his capital. Several ſlight actions enſued, in which Sultan Haſſein had, in general, the advantage.

Haſſein marches to Delhi.

* The abdicated emperor.

Cuttub

Cuttub Chan diſpatched a perſon to Haſſein, informing him, that Sultan Beloli was ready to relinquiſh all the countries beyond the Ganges, upon condition he ſhould leave him in poſſeſſion of all the provinces on this ſide of that river. Theſe terms being accepted, they reverſed their hoſtile ſpears, and Sultan Haſſein marched homeward. But Sultan Beloli, in a perfidious manner, broke the peace, and purſuing Haſſein, attacked him upon his march, killing a great number, and taking forty omrahs priſoners, beſides part of his treaſure and equipage. Beloli purſued his victory, and took ſeveral diſtricts belonging to Sultan Haſſein, ſuch as Campul, Pattiali, Shumſeabad, Sickite, Marhera, Sittali, and Koli, appointing agents to manage them under him. But when he had purſued Haſſein as far as Arumbidger, the latter ſtood his ground, and engaged Beloli. The victory being dubious, a peace was patched up between them, the village of Doupamou being ſettled as the boundary between the empires. After this pacification, Sultan Haſſein proceeded to Raberi, and Sultan Beloli returned to Delhi.

A. D. 1478. Hig. 883.

Beloli's perfidy.

Sultan Haſſein could not, however, forget the perfidy of Beloli. He recruited his army, and ſome time after marched againſt him, and met him at the village of Sinhar, when an obſtinate battle enſued, in which Sultan Haſſein was defeated, and loſt all his treaſure and baggage; which, together with an addition of reputation, greatly promoted the affairs of Beloli. Sultan Haſſein having retreated to Raberi, he was followed thither by Beloli, and upon ſtanding a ſecond engagement, he was again totally defeated. After the battle, he retreated towards Gualier; the raja of Gualier brought him ſome lacks of rupees, elephants, horſes, camels, and a fine ſet of camp equipage, and accompanied him to Calpie.

Sultan Beloli went, in the mean time, to Attava, where he beſieged Ibrahim Chan, the brother of Sultan Haſſein, and took the place by capitulation. He, however, generouſly made him a preſent of

A. D. 1478. Hig. 883. of the fort, and proceeded to Calpie; Sultan Haſſein met him upon the banks of the river, where they remained for ſome months. But Rai Muluck Chand of Buxar, coming over to Sultan Beloli, ſhewed him a paſſable ford in the river, by which he croſſed, and attacking Sultan Haſſein, defeated him, and drove him to Jionpoor, upon which Sultan Beloli turned off to the left towards Kinnoge. Sultan Haſſein again met him near that city, but he was once more defeated with great ſlaughter. His regalia and equipage were taken, and alſo the chief lady of his ſeraglio, Bibi Conzah, the daughter of Sultan Alla ul Dien, who was treated with great reſpect. Sultan Beloli returned, after this victory, to Delhi.

Having recruited and regulated his army, he advanced the ſpear of hoſtility again towards Jionpoor. He conquered that country, and gave it to Mubarick Chan Lohani, leaving Cuttub Chan Lodi, Chan Jehan, and other omrahs, at Migouli, to ſecure his conqueſts. He himſelf went to Budaoon, where he ſoon after heard of Cuttub Chan's death. Chan Jehan, Mubarick Chan, and other omrahs, though they kept up the appearance of fidelity, were, after the death of Cuttub, concerting meaſures to throw off the ſultan's yoke.

Beloli being apprized of their intentions, marched towards Jionpoor, and drove away Haſſein, who had made an attempt to recover it, and placed Barbee Shaw, one of his own ſons, upon the throne of Jionpoor. He himſelf returned to Calpie, which he took, and gave to his grandſon, Azim Hamaioon Ben Baizied. He directed then his march to Dolepore, raiſing a tribute upon the raja of that place, who began to rank himſelf among Beloli's ſubjects. The ſultan went from thence to a place in the diſtricts of Rintimpore, which he plundered, and ſoon after returned to Delhi.

Beloli, being old and infirm, divides his dominions among his ſons.

Beloli being now extremely old, and infirmities beginning daily to increaſe upon him, he divided his dominions among his ſons, giving Jionpoor

Jionpoor to Barbeck Shaw; Kurrah and Manikpore, to Mubarick Chan; Byrage, to his nephew Shech Mahummud, famous by the name of Kalla Par, or the Black Mountain; Lucknore and Calpee, to Azim Humaioon, whoſe father, Baezid, was aſſaſſinated a little before by his own ſervant; Budaoon to Chan Jehan, one of his old omrahs, and a relation; and Delhi, with ſeveral countries between the two rivers, to his ſon Nizam Chan, known afterwards by the name of Sultan Secunder, whom he appointed his ſucceſſor in the imperial dignity. A. D. 1488. Hig. 894.

Some time after this diviſion the ſultan proceeded to Gualier, and raiſing a tribute of eighty lacks of rupees from the raja of that place, came to Attava, from whence he expelled Sickit Sing, and then turned his face towards Delhi. Falling ſick upon his march, many of the omrahs were deſirous that he ſhould alter his former will, with reſpect to the ſucceſſion, which, they ſaid, was the undoubted right of Azim Humaioon, his grandſon. The ſultana, upon this, wrote to her ſon, Nizam Chan, who, having heard of his father's illneſs, was ſetting out from Delhi, by no means to come, otherwiſe he might be impriſoned by the omrahs: At the ſame time the ſultan, by the advice of ſome omrahs, ordered public letters to be ſent him, to haſten him to camp, that he might ſee him before his death. Nizam Chan was greatly perplexed how to act upon this nice occaſion. He, at length, was adviſed by Cuttuluk Chan, the vizier of Sultan Haſſein Shirki, who was then priſoner at Delhi, to pitch his tents without the city, and to advance by very ſlow marches. In the mean time, the king's diſeaſe overcame him, and he died at Malauli, in the pergunnah of Sikite, in the year eight hundred and ninety four, having reigned thirty eight years, eight months, and ſeven days. He falls ſick. Dies.

Beloli was, for thoſe days, eſteemed a virtuous and mild prince, executing juſtice to the utmoſt of his knowledge, and treating his courtiers rather as his companions than his ſubjects. When he His character.

A. D. 1488. Hig. 894. came to the empire, he divided the treaſure among his friends, and could be ſeldom prevailed upon to mount the throne, ſaying, "That it was enough for him, that the world knew he was king, "without his making a vain parade of royalty." He was extremely temperate in his diet, and ſeldom eat at home. Though a man of no great literature himſelf, he was fond of the company of learned men, whom he rewarded according to their merit. He had given ſo many proofs of perſonal bravery, that none could doubt it; at the ſame time, he was often cautious to exceſs, never chuſing to truſt much to chance, and delighting greatly in negotiation.

SECTION IX.

The reign of Sultan SECUNDER BEN SULTAN BELOLI.

A. D. 1483. Hig. 894. THE omrahs, immediately upon the death of Beloli, formed themſelves into a council, in which ſome appeared to be attached to the intereſt of Azim Humaioon, ſome to Barbeck, the eldeſt ſon of the ſultan then living, and ſome to Secunder, in conſequence of his father's will. When they were debating, the mother of Secunder, whoſe name was Rana, originally a goldſmith's daughter, but raiſed to the ſultan's bed, by the fame of her beauty, came behind the curtain, in the great tent, and made a ſpeech to the omrahs, in favor of her ſon. Upon which Iſah Chan, the nephew of Beloli, anſwered her, in a diſreſpectful manner, and concluded with ſaying, that a goldſmith's offspring was not qualified to hold the empire.

The omrahs variouſly inclined.

Debate about a ſucceſſor to Beloli.

Firmilli's boldneſs. Chan Chanan Firmilli, a ſtout daring man, took him up, and told him, That the ſultan was yet ſcarce cold in his hearſe, and that the man who threw ſuch ungenerous aſperſions upon his family ought

to

to be deſpiſed. Iſah Chan replied, That ſilence would better become him, who was only a ſervant of the ſtate. Upon which the other roſe up, in a rage, and told him, he was, indeed, a ſervant of Sultan Secunder, and would maintain his right againſt all who durſt oppoſe it. He ruſhed out of the council, followed by all his party, and carried off the body of the deceaſed king to Jellali, where he was met by Sultan Secunder, who there aſcended his father's throne. A. D. 1488. Hig. 894. Secunder mounts the throne.

Secunder ſending the corpſe of his father to Delhi, marched againſt Iſah Chan, and having defeated him, afterwards forgave his offence. Returning then to Delhi, he, in the manner of his father, conferred favors upon all his kindred. Defeats and pardons Iſah Chan.

Secunder had, at this time, ſix ſons, Ibrahim Chan, Jellâl Chan, Iſhmaiel Chan, Haſſein Chan, Mahmood Chan, and Shech Azim Humaioon; and likewiſe fifty three omrahs of diſtinction in his ſervice.

Some time after his acceſſion, Secunder marched towards Raberi, and beſieged his own brother, Allum Chan, in the fort of Chundwar, for ſome days. Allum evacuated the place, and fled to Iſah Chan Lodi, at Pattiali. Sultan Secunder gave Raberi to Chan Chanan, went, in perſon, to Attava, and calling Allum Chan, his brother, to court, gave him poſſeſſion of that country. He then advanced to Pattiali, engaged Iſah Chan, wounded, and defeated him; after which Iſah Chan threw himſelf upon Secunder's mercy, was pardoned, and ſoon after died of his wound. Marches againſt his brother Allum. Again defeats Iſah Chan.

Sultan Secunder, about that time, ſent a truſty perſon to Barbeck Shaw, his brother, king of Jionpoor, deſiring he would do him homage, and order his name to be read firſt in the chutba all over his dominions. Barbeck rejected theſe propoſals, and Secunder marched againſt him. Barbeck Shaw and Calla Par came out in order of battle Marches againſt his brother Barbeck.

A. D. 1488, Hig. 894. battle to meet him. An action enſued, in which Calla Par, charging too far among the troops of Delhi, was taken priſoner. Sultan Secunder, upon ſeeing him, alighted from his horſe, and embraced him, ſaying, that he eſteemed him as his father, and begged he would look upon him as his ſon.

His policy.

Calla Par, confounded at this honor done him, replied, that, except his life, he had nothing to make a recompence for ſuch kindneſs, deſiring to get a horſe, that he might ſhow himſelf not wholly unworthy of his favor. He was accordingly mounted, and he perfidiouſly ſold his honor for a compliment, turning his ſword againſt Barbeck Shaw; which circumſtance, in ſome meaſure, contributed to the ſucceſs of Secunder. The troops of Barbeck ſeeing Calla Par charging them, imagined that all his forces were alſo gone over to the enemy, and betook themſelves to flight. Barbeck Shaw did all that bravery could perform, but finding himſelf deſerted, he fled to Budaoon, while Mubarick Chan, his ſon, was taken priſoner.

Barbeck defeated,

Sultan Secunder purſuing him cloſe, inveſted Barbeck Shaw in Budaoon, who, ſoon driven to diſtreſs, capitulated, and was received with great kindneſs and reſpect. The ſultan carried Barbeck with him to Jionpoor; but as Sultan Haſſein Shirki was ſtill a powerful prince in Behar, he thought Barbeck would be the propereſt perſon to check him, and accordingly confirmed him as before in the government of Jionpoor; leaving, however, ſome truſty friends at his court, upon whom he beſtowed jagiers and pergunnahs, to keep them firm in his own intereſt.

and taken; uſed with kindneſs and reſpect.

Secunder returning to Calpie, took the place from Azim Humaioon, and gave it to Mahmood Chan Lodi. He marched from thence to Kurrah, and the governor, Talar Chan, paying him homage, he confirmed him in his office, and turning towards the fort of Gualier, he

Secunder marches to Calpie.

he ſent Chaja Mahummud with an honorary dreſs to Raja Maan, who diſpatched his nephew with preſents to accompany the king to Biana. A. D. 1490. Hig. 896.

Sultan Sherrif met the emperor, upon friendly terms, at Biana. The king ordered him to give up Biana, and he would appoint him governor of Tellaſar, Chandwar, Marrara, and Sekite. Sherrif took Omar Chan Serwani with him to put him in poſſeſſion of the fort, but when he had got within the walls, he ſhut the gates upon Omar Chan, and prepared to defend himſelf. Sultan Sherrif refuſes to give up Biana.

The ſultan deſpairing of reducing the place, went to Agra, where Hybut Chan Serwani, who held that fort for Sultan Sherrif, ſhut the gates againſt him, contrary to his expectation. This inſult enraged the ſultan to that degree, that he determined, let the event be what it would, to reduce Sultan Sherrif to his obedience. He accordingly, leaving part of his army to beſiege Agra, returned himſelf, with the utmoſt expedition, towards Biana, which he immediately beſieged. The ſiege proved long and bloody; however, Sultan Sherrif, in the end, was obliged to capitulate, in the year eight hundred and ninety ſeven, when that government was given to Chan Chanan Firmilli. Secunder marches to Agra. Reduces Biana, and Agra.

The fort of Agra falling, about the ſame time, into the ſultan's hands, he returned to Delhi, where, in a few days, he received advices of an inſurrection at Jionpoor, among the zemindars, to the number of one hundred thouſand horſe and foot; and that they had already ſlain Sheri Chan, the brother of Mubarick Chan. Mubarick Chan himſelf being driven from Kurrah, was taken priſoner by Rai Bhede, of Battea, and Barbeck Shaw obliged to go to Barage, to ſollicit the aſſiſtance of Calla Par; ſo that the ſultan, after twenty two days reſpite at Delhi, was under the neceſſity of marching towards Jionpoor. When he arrived at Dilmow, he was joined by Barbeck Shaw; and Rai Bhede hearing of the ſultan's approach, releaſed Mubarick, An inſurrection at Jionpoor.

A. D. 1491. Hig. 897. Mubarick Chan, and the zemindars diſperſed themſelves. The ſultan carried Barbeck Shaw to Jionpoor, and having left him there to puniſh the offenders, he ſpent a month in hunting about Oud.

The inſurgents diſperſe upon Secunder's approach.

At Oud intelligence was brought to Secunder, that the zemindars had riſen again, and beſieged Barbeck Shaw, in Jionpoor. He ordered immediately that Calla Par and Azim Humaioon Serwani, and Chan Chanan Lowani, by the way of Oud, and Mubarick Chan, by the way of Kurrah, ſhould march againſt them, and ſend Barbeck Shaw priſoner to the preſence. His orders were accordingly executed, and Barbeck was given in charge to Hybut Chan and Omar Chan Serwani, being eſteemed an improper perſon for the government, and too dangerous to be truſted with his liberty.

They riſe a ſecond time.

Barbeck Shaw impriſoned.

The ſultan, after theſe tranſactions, marched towards Chinar, which was held for Sultan Haſſein Shirki; upon his approach, the garriſon made a ſally, and were driven back into the fort; but the ſultan, upon reconnoitring the place, looked upon it as almoſt impregnable, and immediately left it, marching his army towards Battea. Rai Bhede came out of Battea, and paid him homage, upon which the king confirmed him in his dominions, and returned to Areil, ordering Rai Bhede to accompany him; but Rai Bhede ſuſpecting ſome deſign againſt himſelf, left all his retinue, and deſerted the camp alone. The ſultan ſent him back his effects. He, however, permitted his troops to plunder the country of Areil, and croſſing the river, by the way of Kurrah, went to Dilmow, where he married the widow of Sheri Chan.

Rai Bhede ſubmits.

From Dilmow the ſultan marched to Shumſeabad, where he remained ſix months, and then went to Simbol; but returning from thence, in a few days, to Shumſeabad, he plundered the town of Mudeo-makil, where a band of banditti reſided. Secunder ſpent the rainy ſeaſon at Shumſeabad.

In

A. D. 1494. Hig. 900.

In the year nine hundred, the ſultan made another campaign towards Battea, defeating Bir Singh, the ſon of Rai Bhede, at Carrangatti, who fled to Battea; but, upon the ſultan's approach, Rai Bhede took the route of Sirkutch, and died upon his march. The ſultan, after this victory, proceeded to Sezdewar; but proviſions growing ſcarce in his camp, he was obliged to return to Jionpoor, having, in this expedition, loſt a great part of his cavalry by fatigue, bad roads, and the want of forage.

Secunder marches againſt Battea.

Lickim Chund, the ſon of Rai Bhede, and other zemindars, wrote to Sultan Haſſein, of Bekâr, that the cavalry of Secunder was now in a wretched condition, and that it was an excellent opportunity for him to take ſatisfaction for his former defeats. This induced Sultan Haſſein to put his army in motion, and march directly againſt Sultan Secunder. Secunder hearing of his intentions, put his army upon the beſt footing poſſible, and croſſed the Ganges to meet him, which he did eighteen crores from Benaris: An obſtinate battle was fought, in which Sultan Haſſein was defeated, and fled to Battea.

Haſſein ſets upon Secunder,

but is overthrown.

Sultan Secunder leaving his camp with a proper guard, purſued the fugitives for three days, with a party of horſe; but hearing Sultan Haſſein was gone to Behar, he ſtopped, and upon the ninth day returned to his camp. He then marched with his whole army towards Behar, but upon his approach, Sultan Haſſein left Malleck Cundu to guard the city, and fled himſelf to Calgaw, in the dominions of Lucknouti *. Sultan Alla ul Dien, king of Bengal, called Haſſein to his court, and treated him with the greateſt reſpect during the remainder of his days, which he paſſed with him; ſo that with Haſſein the royal line of Jionpoor was extinguiſhed.

Secunder marches to Behar.

Sultan Secunder, from his camp at Deopar, ſent a diviſion of his army againſt Malleck Cundu, who evacuated the city and fled,

Behar evacuated and taken.

* Bengal.

leaving

A. D. 1494. Hig. 900. Secunder marches to Bengal.

leaving the whole country open to the enemy. The ſultan left Mohabut Chan with a force in Behar, and marched towards Turhat, the raja of which ſubmitted himſelf to his clemency, and laying down a large ſum, agreed to pay an annual tribute. To collect the tribute, the ſultan left Mubarick Chan, and returned to Derveſhpoor, and from thence went to viſit the tomb of Shech Sherrif at Behar, and diſtributed preſents to the dirveſhes who lived there upon the charity of pilgrims.

Secunder having regulated his army, marched towards Bengal, but when he had reached Cuttliſhpoor, Sultan Alla ul Dien ſent Danial his ſon to oppoſe him. Sultan Secunder detached Zere Zichme, one of his generals, to acquaint him, that he had no intention to ſubdue the country, but as their dominions now bordered upon each other, it became neceſſary to know upon what footing he muſt eſteem Alla, before he left that country. The king of Bengal gladly accepted of a peace, wherein it was ſtipulated, that neither monarch ſhould permit any of their governors to invade each other's dominions, and that neither of them ſhould give protection to the other's enemies.

A peace concluded between Secunder and Alla.

The ſultan returned to Dirveſhpoor. Mubarick Chan at that time dying, the care of Turhat was given to Azim Humaioon, the ſon of Chan Jehan, and Behar was beſtowed upon Deria Chan, the ſon of Mubarick. There happened, at this time, a great dearth in the country, but all duties being taken off by the ſultan's order, that calamity was in a great meaſure mitigated. Secunder, in the mean time, reducing the diſtricts of Sarin, which were then in the hands of ſome zemindars, gave the lands in jagiers to ſome of his omrahs; then returning by the way of Movilligur to Jionpoor, he reſided there ſix months.

A dearth in Hindoſtan.

The

The ſultan having aſked the daughter of Sal Bahin, Raja of Battea, in marriage, the father refuſed to comply with his requeſt. Secunder, to revenge this affront, put his army in motion againſt the Raja, in the year nine hundred and four, and marching to Battea, ſacked it. After having ravaged the country round Bandugur, he returned to Jionpoor, where he ſpent ſome time, in the civil regulations of the empire. A. D. 1498. Hig. 904. Battea taken and deſtroyed.

About this time, the accounts of Mubarick Chan Lodi being inſpected for the time of his adminiſtration in Jionpoor, and a great ballance being found due to the royal revenue, the king ordered it to be levied upon him. This ſeverity greatly diſguſted the omrahs, among whom Mubarick Chan was very much eſteemed. A faction accordingly aroſe in the army, which firſt diſcovered itſelf by private quarrels. For, one day, as the ſultan and his court were playing a party at club and ball, on horſeback, the club of Hybut Chan, by accident, or deſign, fractured the ſcull of one Soliman. Chizer, the brother of Soliman, came up, and returned the compliment to Hybut Chan; ſo that, in a few minutes, the parties on either ſide, joined in the quarrel, and the whole field was in one uproar and confuſion. Mubarick Chan Lodi's accounts inſpected. The omrahs diſſatisfied. Quarrels in the camp.

The ſultan, fearing a conſpiracy, fled to the palace, but nothing of that kind tranſpiring, he made another party at the ſame game, ſome days thereafter, and a quarrel of the ſame nature enſued, for which Shumſe Chan, who begun it, was diſgraced, and baſtinadoed. But the ſultan would not be ſatisfied but that there was ſome plot in agitation, and therefore ordered his guards to be ſelected, and to keep upon the watch. The ſultan ſuſpects a conſpiracy.

The king's jealouſies were not groundleſs; for at that time, Hybut Chan, and two other chiefs, had propoſed to Fatti Chan, the king's brother, to cut off the ſultan, who, they ſaid, was now diſliked by A plot diſcovered.

A. D. 1499. Hig. 905. the generality of the omrahs, and to place Fatti upon the throne. Fatti Chan deſiring ſome time to conſider of it, diſcloſed the ſecret to Shech Cabuli, and to his own mother, who adviſed him againſt ſo horrid an action; and, leſt the affair ſhould, by any other means, tranſpire, ſhe deſired him to acquaint the ſultan of their propoſal. This he did accordingly, and the conſpirators were detached upon different ſervices, where they were put to death by the ſultan's orders.

The ſultan retires for four years to Simbol.

Secunder, in the year nine hundred and five, marched to Simbol, where he ſpent four years in pleaſure, and in tranſacting civil affairs. But hearing of ſome bad adminiſtration of Aſghir, the governor of Delhi, he ſent an order to Chawaſs Chan, governor of Matchiwarri, to march to Delhi, and ſend Aſghir priſoner to court. The governor receiving advice of this order, left Delhi, and threw himſelf at the ſultan's feet, but not being able to form any excuſe for his bad practices, he was ordered into confinement.

A remarkable inſtance of religious perſecution.

At this time there happened a remarkable inſtance of religious zeal and perſecution. A Brahmin, whoſe name was Bhodin, upon being abuſed by a Mahommedan, for his idolatry, happened to make a very moderate, but what proved to him a fatal reply. The reply was this: "That he eſteemed the ſame God to be the "object of all worſhip, and, therefore, believed the Mahomedan "and Hindoo religions to be equally good." The bigotted Mahommedan, for what he thought the impiety of this anſwer, ſummoned the Brahmin immediately before the caſy. The affair making ſome noiſe, by the various opinions of the public, the king called together all the Mahommedan doctors of fame in the empire, to decide the cauſe. After many long diſputes, the doctors brought in their verdict, that the Brahmin ſhould be forced to turn Mahommedan, or be put to death. The Brahmin, however charitable he might have been to all opinions upon religion, refuſed to apoſtatize,

and

and accordingly died a martyr to his faith, which reflects no ſmall diſhonor upon the ſultan and his inquiſitors. A. D. 1501. Hig. 907.

When Chawaſs Chan entered Delhi, he found an order from the emperor to proceed immediately to court, with which he inſtantly complied. At the ſame time, Seid Chan Sirwani came from Lahore, who was a man of a very factious diſpoſition, and commenced ſome treaſonable projects, for which he, Tattar Chan, and Mahummud Shaw, were baniſhed to Guzerat. Some factious omrahs baniſhed.

In the nine hundred and ſeventh of the Higera, Rai Man Sing, of Gualier, ſent Nehal to the king with rich preſents; but as this embaſſador talked in too high a ſtrain, the emperor ordered him to depart, and declared war againſt his maſter. But he was prevented from the execution of his purpoſe, for ſome time, by the death of Chan Chanan Firmilli, governor of Biana, and by thoſe diſturbances in that province, which ſucceeded his death. The government of Biana having devolved upon Ameid Soliman, the ſon of Chan Chanan, who was yet too young and unexperienced for ſuch a charge, the king gave that appointment to Chawaſs Chan. Sifdir Chan was ſent with a force to reduce Agra, which belonged to the province of Biana, and had then revolted; another detachment being ſent, at the ſame time, to reduce the fort of Dolipoor, which was in the poſſeſſion of Raja Benaecdeo, who had begun to make warlike preparations. Here Chaja Bein, a warrior of great fame, fell by the ſword, which ſo irritated the ſultan, who had a great eſteem for him, that he marched himſelf againſt that place. Upon his approach Rai Benaecdeo left ſome friends in the fort, and fled towards Gualier, but the garriſon, the next night, evacuated the place, and left the ſultan to take poſſeſſion of it. Secunder's deſigns againſt Gualier. Diſturbances in Biana.

He tarried there about a month, and then marched to Gualier. The raja of which place, changing his haughty ſtile, now humbly Secunder marches to Gualier.

A. D. 1504. Hig. 910. sued for peace, ſending him Seid Chan, Baboo Chan, Rai Giniſh, and others, who had, at different times, fled from the ſultan, and taken protection under him. At the ſame time, he ſent his own ſon, Bickermagit, with preſents, who had the addreſs to procure peace.

The ſultan returned to Dolipoor, which he again beſtowed upon Rai Benaecdeo; then marching to Agra, he, for the firſt time, made that city imperial, by fixing his reſidence there, and abandoning the city of Delhi. Here he remained during the rains, and, in the year nine hundred and ten, marched towards Munderael, which he took, and deſtroyed the Hindoo temples, ordering moſques to be built in their ſtead. Secunder returning to Dolipoor, removed the raja from his office, and gave it to Shech Kimir ul Dien. He paſſed from thence to Agra, giving his omrahs leave to return to their reſpective eſtates.

Makes Agra the royal reſidence.

A. D. 1505. Hig. 911. An earthquake at Agra.

In the following year, upon Sunday the third of Siffer, there was a violent earthquake in Agra, ſo that the mountains ſhook on their broad baſes, and every lofty building was levelled with the ground, ſome thouſands being buried in the ruins. The ſultan, in the ſame year, moved towards Gualier, and ſtopped by the way ſome time at Dolipoor, where he left his family, and, with an unincumbered army of horſe, proceeded to the hills, to plunder ſome Hindoo rajas, from whom he took great ſpoils, and ravaged their peaceful habitations. Juſt as the ſultan was paſſing by the town of Javer, in the dominions of the raja of Gualier, he was attacked by a reſolute body of men, who had laid in ambuſh for him; but, by the bravery of Awid Chan and Ahmed Chan, the ſons of Chan Jehan, the Hindoos were defeated, and a great number of rajaputs put to the ſword.

The

A. D. 1506. Hig. 912. Secunder beſieges Awintgur, which is taken.

The ſultan returned to Agra; and, in the year nine hundred and twelve, he went towards the fort of Awintgur; and, as he had deſpaired of reducing Gualier, he bent his whole ſtrength to the reduction of this place. It was accordingly, in a ſhort time, taken, and all the rajaput garriſon put to the ſword, the temples deſtroyed, and moſques ordered to be built in their places. This government was conferred upon Bickin, the ſon of Mujahid Chan, when ſome envious perſons gave the king information that Mujahid Chan had taken a bribe from the raja of Awintgur, when they were marching againſt him, in order to divert the king from that reſolution. This being proved, Mujahid Chan was impriſoned at Dolipoor; after which the king, returning towards Agra, on the way loſt eight hundred men, in one day, for want of water.

Secunder marches againſt Narvar,

The ſultan, eyeing from his march the ruins of Agra, moved towards Narvar, a ſtrong fort, in the diſtrict of Malava, then in the poſſeſſion of the Hindoos. He ordered Jellal Chan, governor of Calpie, to advance before him, and inveſt the place, which was accordingly done. When the ſultan arrived before Narvar, Jellal Chan drew up his army, out of reſpect, that the king might review them as he paſſed. This circumſtance proved very hurtful to Jellal, for, from that time, the king became jealous of his power, and determined to ruin him.

which he takes.

The ſultan ſurrounded the place, which was eight crores in circumference, and began to carry on the ſiege. The ſiege was now protracted eight months, when the ſultan received intelligence, that a treaſonable correſpondence was carried on between ſome of his omrahs and the garriſon, for which Jellal Chan and Sheri Chan were impriſoned in the fort of Awintgur. The garriſon, ſoon after, was obliged to capitulate, for want of proviſions, and the king remained, for the ſpace of ſix months, at Narvar, breaking down temples,

A. D. 1509. Hig. 915. temples, and building moſques. He there alſo eſtabliſhed a kind of monaſtery, which he filled with divines and learned men.

Shab ul Dien, the ſon of Naſir ul Dien, king of Malava, being at this time diſcontented with his father, propoſed to meet Secunder. The ſultan immediately ſent him a dreſs, and promiſed to ſupport him in the government of Chinderi, againſt the power of his father. But circumſtances ſo fell out, that it became unneceſſary to take that unnatural ſtep.

The ſultan, in the month of Shuban, nine hundred and fourteen, marched from Narvar; but after he had advanced to the river, he began to conſider that it would be proper to ſurround that fortreſs with another wall. He therefore ordered that work to be immediately begun, and then he himſelf took the rout of Lohar. At that place he beſtowed Calpie, in jagier, upon Niamut Chatoon, the wife of Cuttub Chan Lodi, and daughter of the prince Jellâl Chan. He then directed his march towards the capital, and arriving at Hitgat, ſent a detachment againſt ſome rebels in that country, and deſtroyed all their habitations, placing ſmall garriſons at proper diſtances to overawe them. About this time he received advices, that Ahmed Chan, the ſon of Mubarick Chan Lodi, governor of Lucknore, had turned idolater; upon which orders were diſpatched to ſend him priſoner to court, and that his ſecond brother, Sud Chan, ſhould take the adminiſtration of affairs in his ſtead.

In the year nine hundred and fifteen, the king marched to Dolipoor, and ordered carvanſeras to be built at every ſtage. Mahummud Chan Nagori having defeated Ali Chan and Abu Bicker, who had conſpired againſt him, they fled to the ſultan for protection. Mahummud Chan, fearing they would bring the ſultan againſt him, ſent preſents by way of prevention, and ordered the chutba to be read

read in Secunder's name. The ſultan, pleaſed with his ſubmiſſion, ſent him a dreſs of confirmation, and returned to Agra. A. D. 1509. Hig. 915. The ſultan returns towards Agra.

He ſpent ſome months there in building, making ſpacious gardens, and in hunting, then returned to Dolipoor, ordering Miah Soliman, the ſon of Chan Chanan, to ſuccour Huſſen Chan. Soliman very imprudently told the king, that he could not prevail upon himſelf to leave the preſence. This expreſſion threw the ſultan into a violent rage, and he forthwith ordered him from his ſervice and camp by next morning at day-light, or that otherwiſe all his effects ſhould be given to the ſoldiers as public plunder. Secunder's tranſactions at Dolipoor.

Much about this time, Bogit Chan, governor of Chinderi, who held that place of the king of Malava, ſeeing the weakneſs of his own prince, turned his face to Sultan Secunder. That monarch ſent Amad ul Muluck to ſupport Bogit in his rebellion. He ſoon after returned to Agra, and iſſued a proclamation bearing the ſubmiſſion of Bogit Chan, and his own conſequent right to that country. He ſent more troops and omrahs to Chinderi, who entirely ſettled it as an appendage of the empire. Bogit Chan found matters carried on in his government in ſuch a manner, that he was conſtrained to reſign his office, and come to court. Reduces Chinderi.

After this, we find no tranſactions worthy of memory in the empire, till the year nine hundred and twenty two. Ali Chan Nagori, ſuba of Suiſuper, in that year prevailed upon Dowlat Chan, governor of Rintimpore, which he then held of Malava, to deliver the fort to Sultan Secunder, if that monarch ſhould come in perſon to take poſſeſſion of it. The ſultan, with great joy, cloſed with the propoſal, and ſet out towards Biana, to which place the governor of Rintimpore came to meet him, and was graciouſly received. But Ali Chan, who had been diſappointed in ſome favors which he expected for bringing this matter to bear, reſolved ſtill to prevent the Diſappointed in his deſigns upon Rintimpore.

accom-

A. D. 1516. Hig. 922. accompliſhment of it. He had ſo much influence upon the governor, that he made him retract his promiſe about giving up the fort, though he had put himſelf in the ſultan's power. The ſultan having found out the cauſe of this change, diſgraced Ali Chan, and deprived him of his government, but was obliged to return to Agra without ſucceeding in his deſign upon Rintimpore, ſetting the governor at liberty, notwithſtanding he had ſo egregiouſly deceived him.

Returns to Agra.

To Agra the ſultan ſummoned all the diſtant omrahs together, with an intention to reduce Gualier. But he was, in the midſt of his preparations, in the year nine hundred and twenty three, taken ill of a quinſey, of which he died, having reigned, with great reputation and ability, twenty eight years and five months.

Dies.

SECTION X.

The reign of SULTAN IBRAHIM BEN SULTAN SECUNDER.

Sultan Ibrahim mounts the throne.

SULTAN Secunder dying at Agra, his ſon Ibrahim immediately ſucceeded him in the throne. This prince, contrary to the manners and policy of his father and grandfather, behaved himſelf with inſupportable pride and arrogance to his friends and family. One fooliſh expreſſion of his was, that king's had no relations, but that every body ſhould be the ſlaves of royalty. The omrahs, who were always before honored with a ſeat in the preſence, were now conſtrained to ſtand by the throne, with their hands croſſed before them. They were ſo much diſguſted with this inſolence, that they privately became his enemies.

Proud and arrogant.

A conſpiracy.

A conſpiracy therefore was formed, in which it was agreed to leave Ibrahim in poſſeſſion of Delhi, and a few dependent provinces,

and

and to place the prince Jellal Chan, his brother, upon the throne of Jionpoor. Jellal Chan marched from Calpie, by the aid and advice of the diſaffected omrahs, and mounted the throne of Jionpoor. He appointed Fatte Chan his viſier, who brought over all the omrahs of theſe parts to his intereſt. A. D. 1516. Hig. 922. The empire divided.

Chan Jehan Lohani came at that time from Beri, to congratulate Sultan Ibrahim upon his acceſſion, and, in a very high ſtrain, began to blame the omrahs for dividing the empire, which, he ſaid, would be attended with many evil conſequences. The omrahs, ſenſible of the impropriety of their conduct, determined, as Jellal Chan could not yet be well eſtabliſhed, to call him back, and ſo diveſt him of his new-aſſumed royalty. They accordingly ſent Hybut Chan, with deceptious letters, to recal him, ſaying, that there was a ſcheme for him in agitation, and that it was neceſſary he ſhould ſpeedily come to ſupport it. Deſigns to reunite it.

But Hybut Chan having over-acted his part, by flattery and importunity, Jellal Chan ſuſpected a plot againſt himſelf, and wrote them a genteel excuſe. They, however, not diſcovering his jealouſy, ſent Shah Zadda Mahummud Firmilli, Malleck Iſmaiel Selwani, Caſi Mudgeid ul Dien Hadjib, and Siffil Hadjib, to enforce the requeſt of Hybut Chan; but Jellal took no notice of their ſollicitations or intrigues. The omrahs endeavour in vain to inveigle Jellal from Jionpoor.

Sultan Ibrahim, and his omrahs, finding that theſe baits would not take with Jellal, iſſued a proclamation, declaring all the omrahs, who ſhould join him, traitors to the ſtate; at the ſame time ſending preſents and envoys to all the principal officers in thoſe parts. Theſe means had the deſired effect, and the omrahs, on the ſide of Jellal, were brought over from his intereſt, by degrees.

A. D. 1517. Hig. 923. Jellal has recourſe to arms.

The affairs of Jellal Chân declining in this manner, he ſaw that nothing but a reſolute attempt could retrieve them. He accordingly marching to Calpie, ſecured his family in that fort; and, collecting all his ſtrength, aſſumed the title of Sultan Jellal ul Dien, and was determined to try his fortune in the field. He ſent, at the ſame time, a truſty ambaſſador to Azim Humaioon, who held Callinger for Sultan Ibrahim, and had a great army in pay, to beg his aſſiſtance. Azim was prevailed upon to join him; and a reſolution was formed, firſt to ſettle the countries about Jionpoor, and afterwards to think of affairs of ſtill greater moment. They accordingly marched, with all expedition, againſt Mubarick Chan Lodi, ſuba of Oud, whom they drove to Lucknore.

Is joined by Azim Humaioon,

Sultan Ibrahim hearing of theſe tranſactions, marched his army to that quarter, ſending his other brothers, in confinement, to Haſſi, where he penſioned them for life. Upon his march towards Oud, he was informed that Azim Humaioon had deſerted Jellal ul Dien, and was now upon his way to meet him, which gave him great joy. He ſent ſome omrahs to eſcort him to his camp, where he was very favorably received. A number of other omrahs, of thoſe parts, joined Ibrahim; and he diſpatched the greateſt part of his army, under the command of Azim Humaioon Lodi, againſt Jellal ul Dien. But before Azim could come up with Jellal, he threw a garriſon into Calpie, and, with thirty thouſand horſe, gave him the ſlip, and marched directly towards Agra; while Azim Humaioon laid ſiege to Calpie.

who deſerts him.

Jellal marches to Agra.

Jellal ul Dien had it now in his power either to take poſſeſſion of, or to plunder, the treaſury. But he ſeems to have been perfectly infatuated. Malleck Adam, who was in the city with a ſmall garriſon, not only prevailed upon him to relinquiſh that advantage, but amuſed him with hopes of his brother's favor, till he ſent him all his enſigns of royalty. Adam went ſo far as to promiſe to Jellal the

Deceived by Malleck Adam,

the government of Calpie, and other advantages, without having any powers of treating from the king. A. D. 1518. Hig. 924.

Malleck Adam ſent the whole to Ibrahim, and acquainted him of every particular. But the ſultan having now taken Calpie, and the treaty being concluded without his authority, he took no notice of it, but marched againſt Jellal ul Dien, who, now deſerted by his army for his puſillanimity, was obliged to fly to Gualier, and ſolicit the protection of the raja of that place. Ibrahim came to Agra, where he remained to regulate the affairs of the government, which, ſince the death of Secunder, had fallen into great confuſion, Karim Daad Twa was ſent to take charge of Delhi, and Shah Zadda Mungu to Chunderi.

and flies to Gualier.

Ibrahim returns to Agra.

About this time, the king, without any apparent reaſon, conceived a diſguſt at Miah Boah, who was formerly viſier to Secunder, and put him in chains, conferring at the ſame time great honours upon his ſon. He then formed a reſolution of reducing Gualier, ordering Azim Humaioon to march from Kurrah againſt it, with thirty thouſand horſe, and three hundred elephants. Seven other omrahs, with armies, were ſent to reinforce Azim.

Sends an army againſt Gualier.

Jellal Chan, who had taken refuge in Gualier, being intimidated, fled to the king of Malava. The imperial army arriving before Gualier, inveſted the place, and in a few days Raja Maan Singh, who was a prince of great valour and capacity, died, and his ſon Bickermagit ſucceeded him in the rajaſhip. After the ſiege had been carried on ſome months, the army of Ibrahim at length poſſeſſed themſelves of an outwork at the foot of the hill, upon which the fort, called Badilgur, ſtood. They found in that place a Brazen Bull, which had been a long time worſhiped there, and ſent it to Agra; from whence it was afterwards conveyed to Delhi, and placed at the gate of Bagdat.

Gualier beſieged.

A. D. 1519. Hig. 925. The unfortunate Jellal, who had gone over to Sultan Mahmood of Malava, not being well received there, fled to the raja of Kurykatka, but was ſeized upon by the way, and ſent priſoner to Ibrahim's camp. Ibrahim pretended to ſend him priſoner to Haſſi, but gave private orders to aſſaſſinate him upon the way, which was accordingly done.—What are thoſe charms in power, which could induce a man to ſhed the blood of a brother?

Jellal taken, and aſſaſſinated.

Nor was Ibrahim ſatisfied with the death of Jellal; he imbrued his hands in the blood of ſeveral omrahs of great diſtinction. He called Azim Humaioon Sirwani from Gualier, when juſt upon the point of taking the place, impriſoned him and his ſon Fatte Chan, turning out his other ſon Iſlam Chan from the ſubaſhip of Kurrah. But when Iſlam had heard of his father's and brother's impriſonment, and of his own diſgrace, he erected the ſtandard of rebellion, defeating Ahmed Chan who was ſent to take his government.

Ibrahim's cruelty.

Gualier taken.

The rebellion of Iſlam Chan.

The ſultan having received advices of the reduction of Gualier, which had been for a hundred years in the hands of the Hindoos, he had leiſure to turn all his power to ſuppreſs the rebellion at Kurrah. Azim Humaioon Lodi and Seid Chan, after the reduction of the place, were permitted to go to their jagiers at Lucknore; where, joining the intereſt of Iſlam Chan, they ſtirred up more diſturbances.

Ibrahim placing very little dependence upon the fidelity of the troops which he had near him, iſſued orders for thoſe of the diſtant provinces to repair to his ſtandards. He, in the mean time, conferred great favours upon Ahmed Chan, the brother of Azim Humaioon Lodi, and giving him the command of the army, ſent him againſt Iſlam Chan. Ahmed having arrived in the environs of Kinnoge, Eckbal Chan, a dependent of Azim Humaioon Sirwani, ruſhed

Ahmed is ſent againſt the rebels.

ruſhed out from an ambuſh with five thouſand horſe, and having cut off a number of the imperial troops, made good his retreat. A. D. 1519. Hig. 925.

The ſultan was greatly exaſperated againſt Ahmed, upon receiving intelligence of this defeat. He wrote to him not to expect his favor, if he did not quickly exterminate the rebels; at the ſame time, by way of precaution, ſending another army to ſupport him.

The rebels were now about forty thouſand ſtrong in cavalry, beſides five hundred elephants, and a great body of infantry. When Ahmed Chan had received the reinforcement which we have mentioned, and the two armies came in ſight of each other, Shech Raja Bochari, who was eſteemed the firſt man for parts in that age, was deſirous of bringing affairs to an amicable accommodation. Overtures being made, the rebels conſented to diſmiſs their army, upon condition that Azim Humaioon ſhould be ſet at liberty. Ibrahim would not hearken to theſe terms. He ſent orders to Diria Chan Lohani, ſuba of Behar, to Niſir Chan Lohani, and Shech Zadda Mahummud Firmilli, to advance from that quarter, againſt the rebels. The inſurgents fooliſhly permitted themſelves to be amuſed till the armies from Behar joined. The treaty being then broke off, they were reduced either to fly or fight upon equal terms.

They treat about a peace,

which is broke off.

They reſolved upon the latter, and accordingly drew up in order of battle. Urged on by deſpair and reſentment, they did juſtice to valor, and were upon the point of defeating the imperialiſts, when Iſlam Chan was killed, and Seid Chan diſmounted and taken. Theſe unfortunate accidents diſcouraging the troops, they ſtopped ſhort, and ſoon after turned their face to flight. Their dominions, treaſure, and baggage fell at once into the hands of the king.

The rebels overthrown.

Ibrahim

A. D. 1519. Hig. 825. Ibrahim's tyranny and cruelty.

Ibrahim now gave full ſcope to his hatred and reſentment againſt the omrahs of Secunder, and many of them were barbarouſly put to death. Azim Humaioon Sirwani, Miah Boah, and others, who were in confinement, were, at the ſame time, aſſaſſinated, and fear and terror took poſſeſſion of every heart. Theſe cruelties and aſſaſſinations gave riſe to another rebellion. Diria Chan Lohani, ſuba of Behar, Chan Jehan Lodi, and Miah Haſſen Firmilli, turned their heads from the yoke of obedience. The ſultan having received intelligence of this defection, ſent a private order to the ſheehs of Chunderi, to take off Miah Haſſen Firmilli, ſuba of that country, and theſe holy perſons accordingly aſſaſſinated him in his bed. This freſh inſtance of Ibrahim's baſeneſs and tyranny ſerved only to create him more enemies.

Another rebellion.

Diria Chan, ſuba of Beria, died about this time, and his ſon of the ſame name, aſſumed the title of Sultan Mahummud, with all the enſigns of royalty. He was joined by all the diſcontented omrahs, and found himſelf at the head of a hundred thouſand horſe, with which he took poſſeſſion of all the countries as far as Simbol, defeating the ſultan's troops in repeated engagements.

Ghazi Chan Lodi came about this time with the army from Lahore, by the ſultan's orders. But having heard of his tyrannies, by the way, he was apprehenſive of danger to himſelf, and returned to his father, Dowlat Chan, at Lahore. Dowlat, ſeeing no ſafety but in extremes, revolted from the ſultan, and ſollicited Baber, who then reigned in Cabul, to come to the conqueſt of Hindoſtan. The firſt thing, however, that Dowlat did, was to obtain from Sultan Baber, Alla ul Dien, the brother of Ibrahim, now in the ſervice of Cabul. Supporting him, as a cover to his meaſures, with his whole force, he reduced the country as far as Delhi. Alla was joined by the omrahs of thoſe parts, ſo that his army now conſiſted of upwards of forty thouſand horſe, with which he inveſted Delhi.

Ibrahim

Ibrahim reſolved to march againſt him, but when he came within ſix crore of Alla ul Dien's army, he was ſurprized by that prince in the night. A confuſed and tumultuous fight was maintained to day-light, when Ibrahim found that he was deſerted by ſome of his omrahs, who had joined Sultan Alla ul Dien. Sultan Ibrahim obſerving, in the morning, that the troops of Alla ul Dien were diſperſed, in plundering his camp, rallied a number of his troops, and the greateſt part of his elephants, returned to the attack, and drove him off the field, with great ſlaughter. Ibrahim entered Delhi in triumph, and Alla ul Dien, ſeeing no hopes of reducing it, retreated to Punjaab. A. D. 1525. Hig. 932.

In the year nine hundred and thirty two, Zehir ul Dien Mahummud Baber drew his army againſt Ibrahim, as will be hereafter related at large, overthrew him in the field of Panniput, deprived him of his life and kingdom, and transferred the empire to the family of Timur. Sultan Ibrahim reigned twenty years.

SECTION XI.

The hiſtory of ZEHIR UL DIEN MAHUMMUD BABER, before his invaſion of Hindoſtan.

ABU SEID MIRZA dying in Ayrack *, left eleven ſons, Mirza Sultan Ahmed, Mirza Sultan Mahmood, Mirza Sultan Mahummud, Mirza Sharoch, Mirza Aligh Beg, Mirza Amer Shech, Mirza Aba Bekir, Mirza Sultan Murad, Mirza Sultan Chilili, Mirza Sultan Willid, and Mirza Sultan Amer. Four of the ſons of Mirza Of the family of Baber.

* One of the provinces of Perſia.

arrived

A. D. 1525. Hig. 932. arrived to the dignity of kings; Mirza Aligh Beg to the throne of Cabul; Mirza Sultan Ahmed to the kingdom of Samarcand; Mirza Amer Shech to the united thrones of Indija and Firghana; and Mirza Sultan Mahmood to thoſe of Kundiz and Buduchſhan.

Eunus Chan, king of Mogulſtan, gave to each of thoſe four kings one of his daughters in marriage, excepting to Aligh Beg. Mirza Amer Shech, by Catlick Negar, the daughter of Eunus Chan, had a ſon, whom he named Baber, born in the year eight hundred and eighty eight. The relation between Timur * and Abu Seid, the grandfather of Baber, is this: Sultan Abu Seid was the ſon of Sultan Mahummud, the ſon of Miran Shaw, the ſon of Timur, Lord of Ages.

Mirza Amer, the father of Baber,

lineally deſcended from Timur.

Mirza Baber, when as yet but twelve years old, diſcovered a capacity ſo uncommon at that age, that Mirza Amer gave him the kingdom of Indija; and, when his father, upon Monday, the fourth of Ramzan, in the eight hundred and ninety ninth of the Higera, fell from the roof of a pigeon-houſe, and was killed, Mirza Baber was advanced to the throne, and aſſumed the title of Zehire ul Dien.

Baber's uncommon genius.

Succeeds his father.

Mirza Sultan Ahmed, and Sultan Mahmood, his uncles, led their armies againſt him, to be revenged of him, in his nonage, for the war of his father againſt them, hoping by the advantage which the acceſſion of a child might afford, to appropriate his kingdoms to themſelves. But an accident defeated their ambitious deſigns. After beſieging him in the capital of Indija, there happened ſo great a mortality among their troops and cavalry, that they were glad to enter into treaty, and to raiſe the ſiege. Sultan Ahmed died upon his way to Samarcand.

Beſieged by Mirza Ahmed, &c.

They are obliged to retreat.

* Tamerlane.

The

The kings of Caſhgar and Chutun ſoon after drew a great army towards the borders of Orgund, and made war upon Baber; but he obliged them to retreat. He, at this time, appointed Haſſen Jacoob governor of Indija, who was not faithful to his truſt. He rebelled in the year nine hundred, but Baber marched againſt him, and obliged him to fly towards Samarcand. In the ſame year, Ibrahim Sarid, the governor of Aſhira, rebelled, and read the chutba in the name of Baiſinker. Baber marched againſt him, and beſieged him in Aſhira, which he reduced in the ſpace of forty days; and the rebel was obliged to come forth with a ſword and coffin before him. Baber, however, forgave him, and marched to Chojind, and from thence to Sharuchia, to meet Sultan Mahmood, with whom he remained a few days, and returned to Indija.

A. D. 1495. Hig. 901. Baber reduces ſome rebellious governors.

Baiſinker, king of Samarcand, having poſſeſſed himſelf of Artaba, which was a long time the property of Omar Shech, Baber reſolved to retake the place, and marched accordingly with his army againſt it, the very next ſeaſon. Shech Zulnoon, who held it on the part of the king of Samarcand, made a reſolute defence, till the approach of winter obliged Baber to raiſe the ſiege, and return to to Indija.

Beſieges Artaba to no purpoſe.

Baber, in the year following, drew his army towards Samarcand, being in alliance with Sultan Alli, the brother of Baiſinker Mirza, and king of Bochara; for the former endeavoured to recover from the latter the kingdom of Samarcand. The confederate kings not being able to reduce Samarcand that year, they returned home for the winter ſeaſon, and made great preparations for another campaign.

Marches towards Samarcand.

Returns.

Both the kings, accordingly, in the year nine hundred and two, in the beginning of the ſpring, took the route of Samarcand. Sultan Alli reached Samarcand firſt, and Mirza Baiſinker advanced without the city, and encamped before him; but, upon Baber's arrival,

A. D. 1496. Hig. 902. rival, he retreated within his walls in the night. Eulu Chaja, who was going the rounds of Baber's camp, diſcovered the retreat of Baiſinker, and falling upon his rear, put a great number to the ſword. Baber laid ſiege to a fort, called Aſhira, at a ſmall diſtance from the city, and took it. The confederates, after this ſucceſs, attacked Samarcand, which was defended with great bravery, till winter obliged them to raiſe the ſiege, and retire to quarters, till the enſuing ſeaſon.

Beſieges Samarcand.

The ſiege raiſed.

Sultan Alli returned to Bochara, and Baber to a place called Chajadidar. Shubiani Chan, upon his march from Turkiſtan, to join the king of Samarcand, came before Baber, but he thought proper to make the beſt of his way for Samarcand. Shubiani and Baiſinkir quarrelled ſoon after, and the former returned to his own country. This circumſtance ſo much diſtreſſed Baiſinkir, that, with a ſmall retinue, he went in perſon to beg the aſſiſtance of Chuſero Shaw, king of Kunduz, while Baber, ſeizing this opportunity, haſtened to Samarcand, and, in the year nine hundred and three, entered the city without oppoſition, and mounted the throne, being acknowledged by the greateſt part of the omrahs.

Baber takes Samarcand.

But as Baber had taken the place by capitulation, and forbad all manner of plunder, the army, to whom he was greatly in arrears, and who ſerved him only for the hopes of booty, began to diſperſe. The Moguls, who were commanded by Ibrahim Chan Begehuck, went off in a body, and were followed by ſeveral other chiefs, with their whole dependents, to Achſi, where Jehangire, the brother of Baber, commanded. Jehangire, by the aid of the deſerters, and that of a prince, called Ozin Haſſen, declared himſelf king of Indija. He wrote, by way of ſneer to his brother, that as Baber had ſubdued the kingdom of Samarcand, he begged to be indulged with that of Indija.

Deſerted by part of his army.

Baber having received this meſſage, gave way to his paſſion, and, in blaming the perfidy of thoſe chiefs who had deſerted him, imprudently threw ſome reflections upon thoſe who remained. The omrahs reſented this behaviour, by abandoning him, and joining his brother. Baber, in the utmoſt diſtreſs, ſent Eulu Chaja to endeavor to reconcile the omrahs to him again, but they ſent a party to way-lay the embaſſador, and cut him to pieces. A. D. 1496. Hig. 902. Deſerted by his whole army.

Ali Dooſt and Molana Caſi, in the mean time, threw a garriſon into the fort of Indija, and continued to hold it out for Baber. The faithful omrahs ſent advice to Baber of their ſituation; but, unfortunately at this time, he was taken ſo extremely ill, that, not able to ſwallow any thing, he barely exiſted by having moiſtened cotton applied to his lips. When he had recovered his health, and found the preſſing ſituation of his affairs in Indija, he determined to run the riſque of loſing Samarcand, rather than his paternal dominions, and accordingly directed his march homewards. But Ali Dooſt, and his friends in Indija, having heard that Baber was certainly dead, had capitulated, and given up the place to Jehangire. This traitor aſſaſſinated Molana, and, mounting the throne, read the chutba in his own name. His misfortunes. Indija taken.

This diſagreeable intelligence, and other advices, that the Samacandians had revolted, were, at once, brought to Baber, upon his march, which threw him into the utmoſt diſtreſs, having now loſt both kingdoms. He ſent, as his laſt reſource, Amir Caſim Cudgi to Taſhcund, to entreat the aſſiſtance of Mahmood. That ſultan haſtened to Jilka, where he and Baber met; but an emiſſary, at the ſame time, came to Mahmood, from Jehangire, who managed matters ſo well, that Sultan Mahmood left his two nephews to ſettle their own differences, and returned to Taſhcund. This unexpected blow had ſuch an effect upon the affairs of Baber, that they now Samarcand revolts.

A. D. 1496. Hig. 902. appeared ſo deſperate, that of all his army, in a few days, only forty horſemen remained with him, to conquer two kingdoms.

Baber, in the utmoſt diſtreſs,

In this forlorn ſituation he retreated to Chojind. He wrote from thence to Mahummud Haſſein Gorgan Doghelat, at Artaba, acquainting him, that the place in which he was then could not protect him from the fury of his enemies; he therefore earneſtly ſolicited him to permit him to paſs the winter at Biſhaer. Mahummud Haſſein conſented to this requeſt; and Baber accordingly took up his quarters there. He began to recruit a new army, writing to all the friends he could think of, to join him.

flies to Biſhaer.

He takes the field with a few.

After a few were gathered round his ſtandard, he conſidered that his future fortune depended entirely upon the reputation of his arms, and reſolved to employ them againſt his enemies. He, therefore, haſtened to Barnilack, where he took ſome forts by aſſault, and ſome by ſtratagem. But theſe petty exploits were of little ſervice to him, for his affairs bore ſtill a very ruinous aſpect, which threw him into great perplexity. He received, in the mean time, agreeable tidings from Alli Dooſt Tighai, begging his forgiveneſs, and informing him, that he was in poſſeſſion of the garriſon of Marinaan, and if Baber ſhould come to take poſſeſſion of it, he would number himſelf among his ſlaves.

Baber invited to Marinaan.

Baber did not heſitate to accept this offer, and arriving at the place, he met Alli Dooſt at the gate, who put him into poſſeſſion of the fort, and ſupplied his finances. Baber immediately ſent Amer Caſſim Codgi towards the mountains of Indija, and Ibrahim Sara and Viſs Laghiri towards Achſi, to endeavor to bring over friends to his party. This meaſure had the deſired effect, for the mountaineers of Indija were gained to the intereſt of Baber, while Ibrahim Sara and Viſs Laghiri ſettled matters with the governor of the fort of Baab, and two or three more, who declared for Baber.

His affairs begin to wear a favorable aſpect.

The

The negotiations of that prince ſucceeded, at the ſame time, at the court of his uncle, Sultan Mahmood Chan, of Bochara, who marched to join him. A. D. 1498. Hig. 904.

Jehangire, having received intelligence of the proceedings at Marinaan, and of the efforts of Baber to raiſe an army, marched with his forces towards that place, and ſat down before it. He detached, at the ſame time, part of his army towards Achſi, who, falling in with Mahmood Chan, were defeated, with great ſlaughter. When Jehangire and Ozin Haſſen received theſe advices, they were ſtruck with embarraſſment, and retreated to Indija. But Naſirbeg, the ſon-in-law of Ozin Haſſen, who had now the government of that city, ſeeing the favorable aſpect of Baber's affairs, by the junction of Sultan Mahmood, and ſeveral parties of Uſbecks, determined not to admit Jehangire, and immediately ſent a meſſenger to haſten Baber to take poſſeſſion of the place. This check ruined the affairs of Jehangire, for immediately his army began to diſperſe, while he himſelf took the way to Oſt, and Ozin Haſſen that of Achſi. Jehangire beſieges him in Marinaan. Retreats. Denied admittance into Indija. The affairs of Jehangire ruined.

Baber, by this time, advanced to Indija, and took poſſeſſion of that city, conferring honors upon his friends; and thus the capital of Firghana was, in the year nine hundred and four, reſtored to its former adminiſtration. Upon the fourth day after the arrival of Baber, he ſet out for Achſi, where Ozin Haſſen capitulated, and was permitted to retire to Hiſſaar, Caſim Ogib being appointed governor of the place. The king returned to Indija, with the greateſt part of Ozin Haſſen's troops, who inliſted themſelves under his victorious banners. Baber recovers his dominions.

But the forces of Haſſen having, upon a former occaſion, plundered ſeveral perſons, then in the king's army, of their effects, a complaint was made to Baber, and orders were iſſued to reſtore the plunder

A. D. 1499. Hig. 905. Is deſerted by a great part of his army.

plunder to the proper owners. The Moguls, unwilling to comply with this order, mounted their horſes, and, to a man, ſet out for Orgund, where they joined Mirza Jehangire and Ahmed Timbul, by which they were again in a condition to march againſt Indija.

The deſerters defeat Caſim Cougi.

The king ſent Caſim Cougi to oppoſe them, who was defeated with great ſlaughter, many of the king's principal omrahs being ſlain, and ſeveral taken priſoners.

The enemy advanced with all expedition, and laid ſiege to Indija for the ſpace of thirty days, but as they could effect nothing againſt it, they marched towards Ouſe. The king having recruited his army, marched, in the year nine hundred and five, towards Ouſe, while the

Indija beſieged.

enemy, by another road, made a puſh towards Indija. Baber, however, truſting to his friends in that city, and the ſtrength of the place, marched to Badwerd, a ſtrong fort in the poſſeſſion of Chilili, brother to Ahmed Timbul. Chilili defended the place with great reſolution, but at length was forced to a capitulation, by the terms of which, he was exchanged for the king's friends, who had fallen into the enemy's hands.

The enemy again attempt Indija,

Ahmed Timbul, in the mean time, made an attempt to ſcale the walls of Indija in the night, but was repulſed with great loſs. Baber, by this time, returning to that place, took a ſtrong poſt by the banks of the river. He encamped before the enemy for the ſpace of forty days, and then determined to attack their camp, though with great diſadvantage. After an obſtinate and bloody reſiſtance, the rebels were driven out of their trenches, and diſperſed.

are overthrown by Baber.

The king, after the victory, entered the city in triumph.

Baber was informed in Indija, that ſix thouſand horſe from Mahmood Chan, whoſe policy it was to weaken both parties, had come to the aſſiſtance of Jehangire, and had ſat down before Caſhan: The king, though it was now the middle of winter, in ſevere froſt and

ſnow,

ſnow, marched that way, upon which the allies retreated to their own country. Ahmed Timbul, who was upon his march to join the rebels, fell in accidentally with the king, in a ſituation where he could not eſcape, had not the night favored his retreat; by which means he went off with little loſs. The king purſued him under the walls of Biſhare, and encamped in ſight. A. D. 1499. Hig. 905. who raiſes the ſiege of Caſhan.

Upon the fourth day, Ali Dooſt and Cumber Alli, prevailed upon the king to make propoſals of accommodation. The terms were immediately agreed upon; that Mirza Jehangire ſhould keep poſſeſſion of all the country between the river Chajand and Achſi; and that the kingdom of Indija, and the diſtricts of Orgund, ſhould remain to Baber; that if the latter ſhould ever recover the kingdom of Samarcand, he ſhould give up Indija to Jehangire. A peace between Baber and his brother Jehangire.

After theſe terms of pacification were ſolemnly ratified by mutual oaths, the brothers had an interview, and the priſoners upon both ſides were ſet at liberty. The king returned to Indija, where Alli Dooſt, who was a man of great wealth and power, had began to exert unbounded authority. He baniſhed ſome, and impriſoned others, without the king's permiſſion; while his ſon, Mahummud Dooſt, took a princely ſtate upon himſelf. The king, upon account of his great influence, and the numerous enemies which environed his dominions, was conſtrained to diſſemble his reſentment. The inſolence of Ali Dooſt.

In the mean time, Mahummud Mazidlir Chan, an omrah of Sultan Alli Mirza of Samarcand, apprehenſive of danger from his maſter, joined Bijaan Mirza, the ſon of Sultan Mahmood, and carried him againſt Samarcand. Bijaan Mirza was defeated, returned, and ſent an embaſſador to Baber, inviting him to the conqueſt of that kingdom. Baber embraced the propoſal, and drew his army towards Samarcand. Mahummud Mazidlir Chan having joined Baber upon his march, it was reſolved in council to ſend a perſon to ſound Chaja Baber's expedition to Samarcand.

Cuttub

A. D. 1499. Hig. 905. Cuttub ul Dien Eiah, who had almoſt the whole power of Samarcand in his hands. He returned them for anſwer, that they might march towards the city, and whatever was found then moſt adviſeable, ſhould be done.

In the mean time, Sultan Mahmood Dildai, who commanded a tribe in Baber's camp, left his poſt without any apparent reaſon, fled to Samarcand, and acquainted the enemy of the correſpondence with Chaja Eiah, which diſconcerted their meaſures. His veteran troops crowded to the king's ſtandard, making complaints againſt Alli Dooſt. Baber, therefore, determined to diſmiſs him from his preſence, ſo that he and his ſon went over to Ahmed Timbul, but in a few days he died.

Ali Dooſt dies.

At this time Shubiani Chan had taken Bochara, and was upon full march to conquer Samarcand, which Sultan Alli Mirza was adviſed to relinquiſh to him. Baber, upon hearing this news, went to Kiſh, and from thence to Hiſſar, where Mahummud Maſidlir Chan, and the omrahs of Samarcand, deſpairing of taking that city, left him, and went to Chaſero Shaw. Baber, after this deſertion, was obliged to take the way to Sirtack, over rocks, ſtones, and rugged paths, by which his army ſuffered exceedingly, having loſt moſt part of his camels and horſes. This circumſtance diſpirited his troops to ſuch a degree, that they all deſerted him by the time he reached Barnilack, except two hundred and forty men.

Baber deſerted by his whole army, except two hundred and forty men.

Any man but Baber would have now deſpaired of ſucceſs in his deſigns; but though he had left a kingdom to which he might have ſtill returned, his ambition prompted him to run the riſque of a young adventurer for another. He accordingly marched directly for Samarcand, with this ſmall retinue, with an intention to get into that city, without being diſcovered. His hopes were, that he could raiſe a faction among his friends, while yet the city was in diſorder.

His daring attempt upon Samarcand.

He

He entered Samarcand in the duſk of the evening, and went to Eurit Chan's houſe, but in a few minutes his arrival was whiſpered about, and the whole city began to be in an uproar. Baber, as his ſcheme was not ripe for execution, thought it high time to make his eſcape, which he did accordingly, without any loſs. A. D. 1499. Hig. 905. Obliged to retreat.

After he had got clear of the city, he looked back and repented of his precipitate flight. He immediately ſtopped in a grove, where, being wearied with the fatigue of the day, he laid himſelf down upon the ground to ſleep, as did the greateſt part of his retinue. In about an hour he awaked from a dream, in which he imagined he ſaw Naſir ul Dien Abdalla, a dirveſh of great repute, coming towards his houſe. He thought that he invited the dirveſh to ſit down, upon which his ſteward ſpread a table cloth before him, at which the dirveſh ſeemed greatly offended *, and roſe to go away. The king begged he would excuſe him, as the offence was committed by a ſervant. The dirveſh, upon this, took him by the arm, and held him up towards the ſky, upon which he awoke, and calling up his attendants, related his dream, and determined to make an attempt immediately upon Samarcand. His dream.

Baber's ſmall party having mounted their horſes, returned and reached the bridge about midnight. He detached eighty of his men before to a low part of the wall, near the Lover's Cave, which they ſcaled by the help of a hook-rope, and coming round to the gate and falling upon the guard commanded by Caſiter Chan, killed and diſperſed them. They immediately ſet open the gate, and admitted the king and his ſmall party. The city was alarmed; but the party proclaiming the name of Baber as they paſſed through the ſtreets, all who were his friends flocked to him, while his enemies, not Returns to Samarcand, which he ſurprizes.

* The Orientals never eat abroad without a formal invitation; beſides, theſe independent dirveſhes live upon rice and water, and will not condeſcend to be entertained by princes.

A. D. 1500. Hig. 906. knowing his ſtrength, ran diſtracted from place to place to join their leaders.

In a ſhort time the alarm reached the houſe of Chaja Cuttub ul Dien Eiah, where ſeven thouſand Uſbecks were quartered. They ruſhed out and joined Shubiani Chan, who, with eight thouſand Uſbecks, lay in the citadel of Didar. Shubiani, with one hundred and fifty men, commanding the reſt to wait for orders, ſet out for the iron gate, but ſeeing he could do nothing with that handful, he retreated. Baber, in the mean time, attended by ſome thouſands, who rent the ſky with acclamations, followed him ſo cloſe, that Shubiani Chan could not, either by words or example, make one of the Uſbecks ſtand his ground. He therefore followed them out at the oppoſite gate, and fled towards Bochara, and Samarcand immediately ſubmitted to Baber.

Samarcand ſubmits.

This action, if we conſider the ſtrength of the place, the troops it contained, the alarm that had been ſpread in the evening, the ſmall number who attempted it, the uncertainty of being joined by the citizens, and many other difficulties, we muſt eſteem it equal to the boldeſt enterprize in hiſtory. The authors who relate it, very juſtly give it the preference to any of the exploits of Timur.

Mahummud Muſidter Chan took this opportunity of wreſting the forts of Kirſhi and Heraz from the Uſbecks; while Abul Haſſen Mirza, from Muracuſs, came and took Kole. Sultan Baber ſent ambaſſadors to Sultan Haſſein Mirza, and other neighbouring princes, his relations, to requeſt their alliance, to drive Shubiani Chan out of Maver ul Nere. They either paid no regard to Baber's ambaſſy, or ſent ſuch pitiful ſupplies, as ſerved no purpoſe. Shubiani, by this means, recovered ſtrength during the winter, taking Karacole, and other diſtricts.

Sultan

Sultan Baber, in the month of Shawal, nine hundred and ſix, collected his whole force, and marched out of Samarcand, to engage Shubiani. He came up with him in the environs of Caridzin, and fought him. Baber exhibited, upon this occaſion, all the good qualities of the general and brave ſoldier, but he was deſerted by his allies, and ſoon after by his own troops. Only fifteen brave friends remained at laſt by his ſide, with whom, ſeeing it in vain to contend any longer with fortune, he made good his retreat to Samarcand. He loſt in this action his principal omrahs, Ibrahim Tirchan, Ibrahim Saar, Abul Aſſim Ko, Hyder Caſſim, Amir Kiam Cudgi, Choda Birdi, Chilili, the brother of Ahmed Timbol, and other princes of note.

A. D. 1501. Hig. 907. Baber defeated by Shubiani.

Shubiani advanced, and laid ſiege to the city; the king taking up his quarters at the college of Aligh Beg, as being the moſt centrical place for ſending orders, or aſſiſtance. The ſiege was continued with great obſtinacy for many days, numbers being killed on both ſides; during which time, Kutch Beg, Loma Kokultaſs, and Kelnizer Taghai, gave extraordinary examples of bravery. Four months had now paſſed in attacking and repulſing, when a dreadful famine began to rage in the city. The inhabitants eat their horſes, and even the moſt unclean animals, while thoſe who could not procure other proviſions, ſubſiſted upon the bark of trees.

Beſieged in Samarcand.

Though the king, at the commencement of the ſiege, had ſent ambaſſadors to the kings of Chorraſſan, Kundez, Buckolan, and Moguliſtan, all princes of the houſe of Timur, for ſuccours, he received no hopes of their aid. He was, therefore, under the cruel neceſſity of abandoning his capital and kingdom, with about one hundred friends, in a dark night, in the beginning of the year nine hundred and ſeven. He eſcaped to Taſhcund, whither his brother, Mirza Jehangire, came to pay him his reſpects. His uncle, Sultan Mahmood, comforted him in his diſtreſs, entertained him in

Forced to quit the city with one hundred men.

A. D. 1502. Hig. 908.

a princely manner, and gave him the city of Artaba to reſide in during the winter.

Beſieged at Artaba by Shubiani.

But in the beginning of the ſpring, he was again attacked by Shubiani Chan, who, not being able to effect any thing againſt the city, plundered the country, and retreated to Samarcand. In this

His misfortunes.

manner, the ſultan, unable to raiſe his head from his misfortunes, lived for ſome time, Ahmed Timbol having taken poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Indija, which Baber had reſigned to his brother Jehangire, upon his taking Samarcand.

Aided by his uncles.

Sultan Mahmood Chan, and his brother, Sultan Ahmed Chan, were at length prevailed upon to ſupport Baber in an attempt to recover the kingdom of Indija from Ahmed Timbol. When the confederates had reached the boundaries of Ferghana, Ahmed Timbol marched out to oppoſe them. It was agreed, that Sultan Baber, with a ſmall detachment of Moguls, ſhould march towards Oſh, to raiſe a party there, whilſt his uncles oppoſed Ahmed Timbol. Baber accordingly took Oſh, and was joined by ſome of the inhabitants of Orgun and Marinan, who expelled the garriſons of Ahmed Timbol. The king immediately marched towards Indija; and Ahmed Timbol decamped from before the confederate princes, and haſtened back to cover Indija.

Defeated by Timbol.

Timbol happened, by accident, to fall in with Baber's camp, when the troops were out foraging, and defeated him. The king eſcaped, wounded, to Oſh, while Ahmed Timbol threw himſelf into Indija, and prepared for a defence. The next day, the allied

The confederates beſiege Indija.

army of Sultan Mahmood and Sultan Ahmed appeared in ſight, and ſat down before the place, where they were joined ſoon after by Sultan Baber. Some time after, the inhabitants of Achſi called the king, and put him in poſſeſſion of that place; but the allied

The ſiege raiſed.

princes, not being able to reduce Indija, raiſed the ſiege.

In

In the mean time, Shubiani Chan, fearing the ſucceſs of Baber, advanced from Samarcand with a very great army, towards Achſi. Baber immediately joined his allies, and they prepared to receive him. But in this action, which was very obſtinate and bloody, the fortune of Shubiani Chan prevailed, and both the uncles of Baber were taken priſoners. The King eſcaped to Moguliſtan, and the kingdom of Taſhcund fell into the hands of Shubiani Chan, which greatly augmented his power. A. D. 1503. Hig. 908. Totally defeated by Shubiani.

Shubiani, ſome time after, releaſed the two brothers, but Sultan Mahmood retired, and fell into a deep melancholy. When one of his friends told him, that Shubiani Chan had poiſoned him, and begged to ſupply him with ſome famous Theriac of Chitta, as a powerful antidote againſt poiſons; the prince replied, "Yes! Shubiani Chan has poiſoned me, indeed! he has taken my kingdom, "which is not in the power of your Theriac to reſtore." Sultan Baber's uncles releaſed.

Sultan Baber left Moguliſtan, and came to Shudma, and from thence proceeded to Turmuz, where Amir Mahummud Backer, prince of that place, who was uneaſy at the great power of the Uſbecks, glad of Baber's alliance, who ſtill had the command of an army, received him with great kindneſs and reſpect, and gave him large preſents. Baber ſaid to him, upon this occaſion, That being a long time the foot-ball of fortune, and like a piece of wood on a cheſs-board, moved from place to place, vagrant as the moon in the ſky, and reſtleſs as a ſtone upon the beach, he would therefore be glad of his friendly advice, as he had been ſo unſucceſsful in his own reſolves. Meer Mahummud Backer replied, That, however incapable he was to adviſe him, he would not withold his opinion, which was, that, as Shubiani Chan was now in full poſſeſſion of Baber's kingdom, and many others, which rendered him extremely powerful, it would be more adviſeable for him to purſue his fortune elſewhere, He aſks advice of Mahummud Backer.

A. D. 1504. Hig. 910.

elſewhere, particularly in Cabuliſtan, which was now in a ſtate of anarchy.

Baber's ingratitude to Chuſero Shaw.

The king followed this advice, and, in the year nine hundred and ten, marched towards Cabul. Paſſing, in his way, through the dominions of Chuſero Shaw of Kunduz, he was entertained by him with great hoſpitality, for which, we are ſorry to relate, our hero made a very bad return. During the time that Baber reſided there, he ſtirred up a faction in Chuſero's court, and gained over ſeven thouſand of his troops to his own intereſt. This plot being diſcovered, Chuſero, with a few ſervants, was obliged to abandon his capital and fly to Biddiulzeman Mirza, leaving his troops, his treaſure, and every thing in the poſſeſſion of Baber.

Marches towards Cabul.

Baber did not fail to avail himſelf of theſe advantages. He marched immediately towards Cabul, which had been in poſſeſſion of Mirza Abdul Ryſaac, the ſon of Mirza Aligh Beg, Baber's uncle, who was then in his minority. One Zicca, exerting too much authority in the country at that time, diſguſted the other omrahs, who aſſaſſinated him in the month of Zihidge. This circumſtance occaſioned great convulſions in the kingdom; for Mahummud Mokîm, the ſon of Amir Zulnôn, Prince of Garrimſere, took advantage of the inteſtine diviſions of the Cabulians, and invaded them, forcing Mirza Abdul Ryſâc to take ſhelter among the Afghâns: he himſelf took poſſeſſion of that country, and married the ſiſter of the former prince.

Confuſions of that country.

Baber ſeizes upon Cabuliſtan.

Affairs being in this ſituation, Sultan Baber arrrived upon the borders of Cabul, and driving Mahummud Mokîm out of the field, forced him to take refuge in his capital, which Baber beſieged and took. He then applied himſelf to regulate and improve that country, as dominions belonging to himſelf.

In

In the year nine hundred and eleven, Cabuliſtan was thrown into great conſternation by dreadful earthquakes which laid moſt of the cities in ruins. Baber endeavoured to alleviate this public calamity in ſuch a manner, by his unwearied care and extenſive benevolence, that he gained the love and fidelity of all his new ſubjects. A. D. 1506. Hig. 912. A dreadful earthquake.

The reſtleſs genius of Baber could not lie quiet. His aſpiring diſpoſition began to extend his views to conqueſt. He accordingly led an army againſt the Argôns of Kandahar, and deprived them of the ſtrong fort of Killât, eſtabliſhing an alliance with Mirza Buddiulzemân of Herât. He marched in the ſame year to Kuſsluckât, which he brought into ſubjection, and gave the government of Ghizni, which, from a great empire, was diminiſhed into an inconſiderable province, to his brother Jehangire. Baber invades Candahar.

In the year nine hundred and twelve, Baber marched towards Chorraſſân to join Sultan Huſſein Mirza, who, aſhamed of his former behavior, and irritated, by freſh injuries from Shubiani Chan, now propoſed to Baber, that they ſhould join in alliance againſt him. But when Baber had reached Nîmroſa, he heard of Sultan Huſſein's death. He proceeded, however, to Chorraſſân, and endeavored to ſtir up the princes and omrahs againſt the Uſbecks. He was not able to effect his purpoſe, and he therefore returned, by the way of Herât, towards Cabul. The ſnows were, at that time, very deep, and prevented his paſſage over the hills, which obliged him to cantoon his troops in Hazara. Marches to Chorraſſân.

When Baber was thus conſtrained to remain at Hazara, Mahummud Haſſein Gurgan, Birlaſs, and other Mogul omrahs, joining with Chan Mirza his couſin, raiſed him to the throne of Cabul, by promoting falſe intelligence of the ſultan's death. But when the news of his return reached the people, they rebelled againſt the new government, and as ſoon as the ſeaſon permitted his approach, Diſturbances in Cabul.

flocked

A. D. 1507. Hig. 913. flocked to his ſtandard, put all the garriſons into his hands except the capital, where Chan Mirza and his adherents ſuſtained a ſhort ſiege, and then capitulated. The principal perſons concerned in the revolt, were expelled the country. About this time Naſir Mirza, the ſultan's youngeſt brother, who held the government of Baduchſhan, being defeated, by one of the generals of Shubiani Chan, took refuge at Cabul, and, as Mirza Jehangire had killed himſelf by hard drinking, his government of Ghizni was now conferred upon Naſir Mirza.

Quelled.

In the year nine hundred and thirteen, Baber marched againſt the Afghans of Ghalingi, who infeſted his country, and took from them one hundred thouſand ſheep, and ſome thouſands of other cattle, and returned. The omrahs of the houſe of Argôn, being greatly oppreſſed by the Uſbecks, wrote to Baber, at this time, that if he would march that way, they would put him in poſſeſſion of Candahar. The ſultan did not heſitate to comply with their requeſt. He immediately ſet out, and, as he was paſſing Kilât, Chan Mirza begged the favor of being admitted into his preſence, and, receiving his pardon, accompanied him. When he had reached the borders of Candahâr, he wrote to Shaw Beg and Mahummud Mokêm, that he was ſo far upon his way, according to their deſire, and that, therefore, he expected to ſee them in his camp.

Baber invited to Candahar.

Since the time of their writing to Baber, ſome alterations in their politicks, had made them repent of the application they had made, ſo that inſtead of receiving the ſultan in a friendly manner, they prepared for war, and deſired he would return home. But the ſultan determined not to ſuffer ſuch an indignity with impunity. He marched forward, and engaged them at the village of Gilliſhack, near the city of Candahar, defeated them with great ſlaughter, and cutting off their retreat from the city, Shaw Beg fled

Takes Candahar,

to

to Saul, and Mahummud Mokîm towards Dawir. Baber immediately laid ſiege to the city, and took it, with all the wealth of the family of Zulnôn, which he divided, by weight, amongſt his officers and troops, according to their reſpective ſtations. He left Naſir Mirza in the government of Candahar and Dawir, and then returned in triumph to Cabul. A. D. 1508. Hig. 914.

Mahummud Mokîm having, this very year, complained to Shubiani Chan, prevailed upon him to engage in his behalf, and to march towards Candahar. Naſir Mirza, upon receiving this intelligence, ſhut himſelf up in the town, and ſent expreſſes to his brother for aſſiſtance. Baber wrote him to defend the place as long as he could, but if he ſhould be driven to great diſtreſs, to capitulate, and come to him at Cabul; for that, at this time, he was in no condition to diſpute the field with Shubiani Chan, whoſe forces and finances were greatly ſuperior; beſides, that a defeat might ruin him for ever, and overſet all the projects he had formed of raiſing himſelf a kingdom in Hindoſtan. Naſir Mirza, according to theſe inſtructions, after he could hold out no longer with propriety, capitulated, and came to the ſultan at Cabul. Shubiani Chan, after taking the place, gave it back to the ſons of Zulnôn, and marched with his army towards Chorraſſân. But no ſooner had Shubiani evacuated Candahar, than the Arguniahs made an incurſion, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the place. This was an agreeable piece of news to Sultan Baber, as they formed a barrier between him and the Uſbecks. which is retaken by Shubiani.

This year, upon the fourth of Zicât, Sultan Baber had a ſon born to him, in Cabul, whom he named Humaioon, who afterwards became emperor of Hindoſtan. The ſultan, in the following year, took the field againſt the Memind Afghans, and, during his abſence, the Moguls of Chuſero Shaw, who had been left to defend Cabul, revolted, and ſet up Abdul Ryſâc, the ſon of Aligh Beg, Humaioon born. Cabul, in the abſence of Baber, revolts.

A. D. 1509. Hij. 915. Baber deſerted by his army.

Beg, upon the throne. The ſultan was immediately deſerted by the greateſt part of his army, for hearing of the rebellion in Cabul, they haſtened home, to protect their families, inſomuch that out of upwards of ten thouſand horſe, which he carried to the field, Baber had now ſcarce five hundred remaining in his camp.

His daring enterprize.

Notwithſtanding of theſe misfortunes, Baber boldly reſolved to advance towards Cabul, with the few truſty friends he had left. Abdul Ryſaac, upon the ſultan's approach, came out of the city with an army ten or twelve thouſand ſtrong. The ſultan, with his ſmall troop, advanced towards them, and when he came near, ordered them to halt. He himſelf rode cloſe up to the rebel-army, and challenged Adbul Ryſaac to fight; but, as he ſeemed to decline the combat, five omrahs, one after another, engaged him, and fell by his hand. The names of the omrahs were Alli Shubcore, Alli Seiſtani, Niſer Bahadur Uſbeck, Jacoob Tez Jung, and Uſbeck Bahadar.

Kills five omrahs in ſingle combats.

This heroic behavior ſtruck the rebels with ſo much admiration and aſtoniſhment, that they refuſed to fight, by which means the uſurper was taken. But ſo great was the ſultan's clemency, that he pardoned him; but ſoon after, beginning to raiſe more diſturbance, he ſuffered the juſt reward of a traitor.

War between Perſia and the Uſbecks.

The country of Chuſero Shaw having fallen into the hands of the Uſbecks, who took no proper means of keeping it in ſubjection, a number of independent chiefs ſprung up in Buduchſhan, of whom the principal was Zeiper. Chan Mirza, upon this, by the advice of his mother, Sha Begum, who traced her genealogy to the great Secunder *, began to entertain hopes, and to take meaſures to raiſe himſelf to that kingdom. Having previouſly obtained leave of the ſultan, he this year left Cabul; and, having raiſed a ſmall

* Alexander the Great.

army,

army, advanced towards the borders of Buduchſhan. But his mother, who came up in the rear, was attacked by a body of Kaſhgars, and carried off priſoner, while Chan Mirza himſelf was defeated, and obliged to give himſelf up to Zeiper, who kept him under guard. Euſoph Alli Kockultaſh, who had been an old ſervant of Mirza, formed a conſpiracy againſt Zeiper, and aſſaſſinated him, and Chan Mirza was raiſed to the throne by the people. A. D. 1509. Hig. 915.

In the year nine hundred and ſixteen, Shaw Iſmaiel Suffavi, king of Iran, wrote to Shubiani Chan to withdraw his troops from ſome of the ſkirts of his dominions, upon which he had begun to encroach, to root up the tree of contention, which produced bitter fruits, and to plant that of friendſhip, whoſe bloſſoms ſhed the moſt grateful perfume. Shubiani Chan replied, That it was only for thoſe who were deſcended from kings to entertain thoughts of empire; that it was true, that Shaw Iſmaiel, though the ſon of a Turkuman Fakier, had raiſed himſelf to a kingdom, when there was no lord of ſeven nations around him, to oppoſe him; that therefore, it would be now adviſeable for him to retire to his former obſcurity, and that, for that purpoſe, he ſent him a ſtaff and a beggar's diſh for his inheritance; for that Shubiani only was worthy of poſſeſſing the bride of royalty, who durſt kiſs her through oppoſing ſwords.

Iſmaiel Suffavi anſwered, That if empire was an inheritance, by what means was it ſo often violated, till it fell to his lot? for his own part, he had always conſidered the right of kings as founded upon power, and that the longeſt ſword was the beſt title. That, with the latter, he was, at all times, ready to diſpute with Shubiani; and that, though he himſelf had no opinion of contemptuous oſtentation, yet in return for Shubiani's preſent, he had ſent him a gridiron and ſpinning-wheel for his amuſement. As for the reſt, that Iſmaiel would be his own meſſenger.

A. D. 1511. Hig. 917. Having diſpatched this meſſage, Iſmaiel immediately collected his army, and, marching eaſtward, ſubdued Chorraſſân, and advanced to Murve, before Shubiani Chan could make the leaſt oppoſition. Shubiani not being then prepared to engage Iſmaiel, in the field, he ſhut himſelf up in Murve. But being ſeverely reproached by Shaw Iſhmaiel, he marched out and gave him battle, in which he was defeated. In his flight he had the misfortune to get into a park, with about five hundred princes and principal officers, from whence he could find no outlet. He was attacked there by Shaw Iſhmaiel, and ſeeing no hope of eſcape left, he and his followers fought, refuſing quarter, till every man of them was laid dead on the field.

Shubiani overthrown and ſlain.

Chan Mirza immediately diſpatched this important news from Buduchſhan to Sultan Baber, and went himſelf to Kunduz; informing him, that now was the time for recovering his former dominions. Baber accordingly, in the year nine hundred and ſeventeen, marched, with all expedition, towards Hiſſar, croſſing the Amu * with Chan Mirza. But a great army of Uſbecks being encamped near that city, they were obliged to retreat to Kunduz.

Baber marches to recover his dominions.

Clemency of Iſmaiel Shaw.

Shaw Iſhmaiel, at this time, ſent Chan Zad Begum, the ſultan's ſiſter, who had been taken in Samarcand, by Shubiani Chan, and afterwards married by him, with all her effects, to Kunduz; where ſhe gave ſo favorable an account of the generous behavior of Shaw Iſhmaiel, that Baber was induced to hope for his aſſiſtance in reinſtating him in his hereditary kingdom. He, for this purpoſe, ſent him an ambaſſador, with proper preſents. In the mean time, in order to keep up the ſpirit of enterprize, he marched towards Hiſſar, where he ſtill found the Uſbecks greatly ſuperior in force to him. He therefore declined to attack them, till he ſhould recruit more forces. This being done, he advanced to their encampment, and offered them battle, which they accepted, and Baber obtained

Baber ſolicits his aid againſt the Uſbecks.

* The Oxus.

a com-

a complete victory, to which the bravery of Chan Mirza greatly contributed. A. D. 1511. Hig. 917. Baber overthrows the Uſbecks.

He was, in a few days after, joined by Ahmed Sultan Suffi, Alli Chan Oſtagelo, Sharock Chan Afshar, and a fine body of cavalry on the part of Shaw Iſhmaiel, by which his army amounted to ſixty thouſand horſe. With this reinforcement he marched towards Bochara, and, after ſeveral ſucceſsful actions with Abdulla Chan, and Jani Beg Sultan, poſſeſſed himſelf of that kingdom. Upon the fifteenth of Regib of the ſame year, he marched from Bochara to Samarcand, which city ſurrendered to him the third time, and acknowledged him ſovereign. Takes Bochara, and Samarcand.

Baber fixed his reſidence at Samarcand, and appointed Naſir Mirza, his brother, to the government of Cabul, giving leave to the troops of Shaw Iſhmaiel to return home. But he had not poſſeſſed this throne above nine months, before the Uſbecks, who had fled to Turkeſtan, advanced, under Timur Sultan, who had ſucceeded to Shubiani Chan, Jani Beg Sultan, and Abdulla Chan, who had divided Bochara between them. Upon receiving theſe advices, the ſultan marched to defend Bochara, where he engaged theſe confederate princes, but being defeated, was obliged to ſhut himſelf up within the walls. He was, in the end, forced to abandon the city, and to retreat to Samarcand. Here he was again beſieged, and obliged to fly to Shadman. Loſes Bochara, and Samarcand.

About this time, Nigim Jani, of Iſpahan, general of the Kiſilbaches of Iran, advanced with an intention to poſſeſs himſelf of Balich. Baber, ever watchful to graſp at every thing favorable to the ruling paſſion of his ſoul, formed an alliance with him for the recovery of his dominions. Nigim Sani having taken the fort of Kiriſh from the Uſbecks, put the garriſon, conſiſting of fifteen thouſand, to the ſword. He then laid ſiege to Gudgdewan, in conjunction with. Makes an alliance with the Perſian general.

A. D. 1518. Hig. 924.

with the ſultan, whither the princes of the Uſbecks advanced againſt them, from Bochara, with a great army; and fortune being ſtill the adverſary of Baber, Nigim Sani, with a great part of his army, was ſlain, and the ſultan obliged to fly to Shadman, with a few attendants.

Baber and his allies overthrown.

A conſpiracy againſt his life.

Nor did the misfortunes of Baber riſe from the enemy alone. His attendants conſpired againſt his life, for having blamed ſome of them for bad behavior. They ruſhed, in the night, into his tent, but being alarmed by the noiſe, he made his eſcape, naked, and reached the fort of Arick before morning, without one attendant; and the conſpirators plundered his camp, and diſperſed themſelves. In this ſituation of affairs, the ſultan ſaw no further hope in thoſe northern regions, and therefore ſet out for Cabul with a ſmall retinue, and upon his arrival appointed Naſir Mirza to the government of Ghizni.

He returns to Cabul.

In the year nine hundred and twenty four, he marched towards Sawad and Bejoar, poſſeſſed by the Afghans of Euſoph Zehi, who had been infeſting his country. Having defeated thoſe mountaineers, and carried ſome thouſands of them into captivity, he gave the government of that country to Chaja Kallan.

SECTION XII.

The hiſtory of SULTAN BABER, from the year nine hundred and twenty four, to his deciſive victory over SULTAN IBRAHIM LODI.

WHEN Sultan Secunder, the king of Hindoſtan, died, he was ſucceeded, as we have already related, by Sultan Ibrahim, in whoſe reign the Patan omrahs became ſo factious, that they totally broke the power of that empire. Sultan Baber reckoned this a good

a good opportunity to eſtabliſh himſelf in Hindoſtan, the conqueſt of which he had long meditated, though he was always embroiled in other affairs. A. D. 1519. Hig. 925. Meditates the conqueſt of Hindoſtan.

Baber accordingly, in the year nine hundred and twenty five, marched his army as far as the Nilaab, or Sind. He ſubdued all the countries in his way, and croſſing the river, advanced to Berah in Punjaab, raiſing heavy contributions for with-holding his troops from plunder. He ſent from Berah, Moulana Murſhid with an embaſſy to Sultan Ibrahim, acquainting him, that as that country had been for many years in the poſſeſſion of the houſe of Timur, it was proper he ſhould now relinquiſh his pretenſions to it, and ſo prevent the war from being carried further into his country. Invades Hindoſtan. Reduces Punjaab.

At this place Baber received advice of the birth of another ſon, whom he named Hindal Mirza. He appointed Haſſen Beg, governor of the conquered countries as far as Chinaab, and marched in perſon againſt the Gickers, and beſieged the fort of Pirhala, whither Hati their chief had retired. The Gickers were, one day, tempted to take the field, and were defeated by Dooſt Beg, the ſultan's general, while he himſelf cut off their retreat to the fort, and obliged them to fly to the mountains. The fort, in which there was a conſiderable treaſure, fell by this means into his hands, which ſatisfied Baber for this expedition, and he returned to Cabul. Marches againſt the Gickers. Returns to Cabul.

In the latter end of the ſame year, Baber returned again to Hindoſtan, with an intention to take Lahore, and in his way chaſtiſed ſome Patans of the tribe of Euſoph Zehi, who diſturbed his march. He built a fort at Peſhawir, and then advanced to the Sind. He there received intelligence, that Sultan Seid, Chan of Kaſhgar, was marching into Buduchſhân, which obliged him to return, leaving Mirza Mahummud Sultan, one of the deſcendents of Timur, with four thouſand horſe, to ſupport his authority in that country. He had His ſecond expedition into Hindoſtan.

A. D. 1519. Hig. 926. had not, however, reached Cabul, before he heard that Sultan Seid Chan had been obliged to retreat. Baber, therefore, turned his face towards the Afghans, of the tribe of Chizer Cheil, who began to make depredations upon Cabuliſtan in his abſence, and ſeverely chaſtiſed them for their inſolence, ſpoiled their country, and returned to Cabul.

Baber's third expedition into Hindoſtan.

Baber, in the year nine hundred and twenty ſix, marched a third time towards Hindoſtan, chaſtiſing the Patans in his way, till he reached Salcot, the inhabitants of which country ſubmitted, and ſaved their poſſeſſions. But the people of Seidpoor, erecting the ſtandard of defence, were, in the end, put all to the ſword, their wealth given up to depredation, and their children and wives carried away captive. Baber was here alarmed, by intelligence from Cabul, that obliged him to return, for the Kandharians had invaded his country.

Returns and beſieges Candahar,

He marched againſt them, drove them out of the field, and inveſted their capital.

He, in the mean time, received advice of the death of Chan Mirza, in Buduchſhan, and appointed his ſon Humaioon to that government. Shaw Beg, the prince of Candahar, held out with great bravery againſt Baber for the ſpace of three years, during which time the ſiege laſted. But in the year nine hundred and twenty eight,

which is taken.

Baber, who was obſtinate in his reſolution, at length reduced it, and all the country of Garrumſere, appointing prince Camirân to the government.

Soon after the ſurrender of Candahar, Dowlat Chan Lodi, apprehenſive of Sultan Ibrahim, ſent a deputation to Sultan Baber, at Cabul, begging his protection. Baber, in the year nine hundred and thirty, augmented his army, and advanced within ſix crores of Lahore, where Par Chan Lodi, Mubarick Chan Lodi, and Bicken Chan Lohani, who were powerful omrahs of Punjaab, joined their

Baber's fourth expedition into Hindoſtan.

forces,

forces, and oppoſed him; but they were defeated with great ſlaughter. Baber, in perſon, marched to Lahore, and took it, ſetting fire to the Bazar, according to a ſuperſtitious cuſtom of the Moguls. A. D. 1523. Hig. 930. Lahore taken,

The king remained four days only in Lahore, and then advanced againſt Debalpoor. He ſummoned the place to ſurrender, but as the garriſon forced him to riſque an aſſault, in which he was ſucceſsful, he put them all to the ſword. Dowlat Chan Lodi, with Alli Chan, Ghazi Chan, and Delawir Chan, his three ſons, joined him at Debalpoor, and the father was appointed to the government of Jallender, Sultanpoor, and other diſtricts of Punjaab, which rendered him very powerful. and Debalpoor.

This Dowlat Chan Lodi was a deſcendant of the race of that name who heretofore reigned at Delhi. He gave to Sultan Baber information, that Iſmaiel Jelwani, Mai Jelwani, and other Afghans, were collected at Kharah; that it would, therefore, be adviſeable to diſpatch a force againſt them. The ſultan agreed to this propoſal, and prepared to ſend a detachment that way. In the mean-time, Delawir Chan, the youngeſt ſon of Dowlat Chan, acquainted Baber, with whom he was a great favorite, that his father and brother wanted to divide his troops, to put ſome plan which they themſelves had concerted, in execution. The ſultan, after being convinced of the truth of this information, ordered Dowlat Chan Lodi, and his ſon Ghazi Chan, into confinement. He then croſſed the Suttuluz, advanced to Sirhind, and there releaſed the priſoners, and gave them jagiers. But when they had reached Sultanpoor, they deſerted the camp, and fled to the hills. The ſultan, upon this, gave to Delawir Chan the title of Chan Chanan, and both their jagiers; but as the father and ſon's deſertion greatly affected Baber's intereſt in Hindoſtan, he thought it no ways adviſeable to proceed to Delhi this year. He, accordingly, returned to Lahore, Dowlat Chan Lodi

ſuſpected,

confined,

eſcapes.

A. D. 1524. Hig. 931. and, having appointed governors to the different countries in his poſſeſſion in Hindoſtan, ſet out for Cabul.

During Baber's abſence, Dowlat Chan Lodi found means to ſeize his ſon, Chan Chanan, who had betrayed him, and put him in chains; then marching with a formidable army to Debalpoor, fought Sultan Alla ul Dien and Baba Kiſka, and defeating them, ſubdued that country. Sultan Alla ul Dien fled to Cabul, and Baba Kiſka to Lahore. Dowlat Chan ſent five thouſand Sirwani Afghans againſt Salcot, but Mir Abdul Aziz, of Lahore, immediately marched, with what forces he had, to the aſſiſtance of Kokiltaſh, who held the government of Salcot, and meeting with this detachment of Afghans, defeated them, and returned to Lahore.

Defeats Baber's forces.

Much about this time, an army, on the part of Sultan Ibrahim, of Delhi, marched againſt Dowlat Chan and his ſon. Dowlat turned his army to give them battle, and, having met them at Bidjwarrah, found means to ſtir up a faction in his own favor in the imperial camp, inſomuch that ſuch as were not diſaffected were obliged to fly the camp, and return to Ibrahim.

Sultan Ibrahim attacks him.

Sultan Alla ul Dien, who had loſt his government of Debalpoor, and had fled to Cabul, now arrived in Lahore, with orders from Baber to all his omrahs of thoſe parts, to join him with all their forces, and march towards Delhi, and that he would ſupport them in perſon as ſoon as his affairs at home would permit. Dowlat Chan and Ghazi Chan Lodi, hearing of this order, wrote to the Mogul omrahs, that they were glad to find that Sultan Baber eſpouſed the cauſe of Alla ul Dien, who was the very perſon they themſelves would chuſe to raiſe to the throne of Delhi; that if they would, therefore, ſend him to them, they would undertake to place him upon the Muſnud.

Alla arrives at Lahore.

The

The omrahs, having firſt obtained a grant for Sultan Baber, of all the countries beyond the Sind, permitted Alla ul Dien to join the Lodis himſelf, without complying further with the ſultan's orders. When accordingly he arrived in their camp, Dowlat Chan and his ſon ſupplied him with the greateſt part of their force, with which he marched towards Delhi, and inveſted it, as before related, with forty thouſand horſe. In the mean time, Sultan Ibrahim advanced againſt him from Agra, and was ſurprized, in the night, when he had reached near the city; but, by the irregular behavior of Sultan Alla ul Dien's army, who, in the morning, diſperſed themſelves to plunder, they were fallen upon by Sultan Ibrahim, and defeated in their turn, which obliged Alla to retreat, in great diſtreſs, to Punjaab. When Sultan Baber heard of the defeat of Alla ul Dien, he awoke from the dream of indolence and luxury, which he had indulged for ſome time in Cabul, and, in the beginning of the ſpring, of the year nine hundred and thirty two, marched the fifth time towards Hindoſtan. He was joined by his ſon Humaioon, with a good force, from Buduchſhan, and Chaja Callan, with the troops from Ghizni. He took the rout of Lahore, and in the way uſed to hunt rhinoceroſes, with which that country abounded, and ſo had an opportunity of putting the perſonal bravery of moſt of his omrahs to trial, as that was a dangerous and warlike exerciſe. Many of thoſe animals were killed, and ſome taken alive in toils.

A. D. 1525. Hig. 932. Joins the two Lodis.

Beſieges Delhi.

Overthrown by Ibrahim.

Baber's fifth expedition into Hindoſtan.

Upon the firſt of Rubbi ul Awil, Baber croſſed the Sind, and upon the banks of that river, muſtered his army, which conſiſted of only ten thouſand choice horſe. Croſſing then the Behat, he advanced to Salcot, where Sultan Alla ul Dien met him, and likewiſe Mahummud Alli Jung-jung, governor of Cullanore, and Chaja Haſſin, the dewan for thoſe provinces.

Croſſes the Sind.

A. D. 1525. Hig. 932. Dowlat Chan and Ghazi Chan, who reckoned themſelves publickly in the ſervice of Alla ul Dien, now lay upon the banks of the Ravi, near Lahore, with an army of forty thouſand men; but when Baber advanced towards them, they fled; Dowlat to the fort of Milwit, and Ghazi Chan to the ſkirts of the hills. Sultan Baber inveſted Milwit, and Dowlat Chan, after a few days, capitulated. It ſeems, that ſome days before, he put on two ſwords, and boaſted what he would do to Sultan Baber. Baber now ordered thoſe two ſwords to be hung round his neck, and in that manner Dowlat was brought to his preſence; but notwithſtanding his behaviour, the ſultan forgave all his crimes, and took him into favor.

Puts to flight the two Lodis.

Dowlat taken.

When the gates of the fort were opened, the troops preſſed in in an irregular manner, and began to plunder. Baber, upon this, mounted his horſe, and entering, was under the neceſſity of uſing violence, to prevent their outrages. He killed, upon this occaſion, a principal officer of his ſon Humaioon's retinue, with an arrow, for which he was extremely grieved, as it happened by miſtake. The ſultan, by this means, ſaved the honor of Dowlat Chan's family, who were all in the place, and preſerved a noble library which he had collected, Dowlat Chan being a poet and a man of learning. Baber marched from thence the next day, and purſued Ghazi Chan, when Chan Chanan, Ghazi Chan's brother, found means to eſcape to him, and was honorably received. Chapihoon Chan, who was detached in front, having fallen in with Ghazi, defeated him, and purſued him ſo cloſe, that he was obliged to fly to Sultan Ibrahim Chan, at Delhi. Dowlat Chan died upon this march.

Ghazi defeated.

Baber having, in ſeveral actions, perceived the inferiority of the Patan troops to his own, determined to delay no longer his final attempt upon the empire. He accordingly marched towards Delhi, having ſome letters of encouragement, at the ſame time, from a few of the malcontents at the court of Sultan Ibrahim. When he had reached

Baber marches towards Delhi.

reached the banks of the Giger, he heard that Hamid Chan, governor of Firoſa, was waiting to oppoſe him in front, with the troops of thoſe parts. Baber, therefore, ſent Humaioon, Kallan Beg, Sultan Duldi, Jehan Beg, Chuſero Beg, Hindo Beg, Abdul Aziz, and Mahummud Alli Jung-jung, to drive Hamid from his poſt, which they effected, and returned victorious to the army. As this was the firſt battle in which prince Humaioon commanded, his father was greatly rejoiced, and gave him the countries of Firoſa and Jallender. Two days after, Meian, an omrah of the party of Ibrahim, appeared in ſight, and deſired to join Baber's colours, with three thouſand Patan horſe, and was accordingly entertained in his ſervice. A. D. 1525. Hig. 932. Humaioon defeats a Patan army.

Baber having arrived within two ſtages of Shawabad, received intelligence that Sultan Ibrahim, with a great army, had marched out of Delhi to oppoſe him, and that Daood Chan and Hatim Chan, formed his vanguard with twenty ſeven thouſand horſe. The ſultan immediately detached Chin Timur Sultan, Muedi Chaja, Mahummud Sultan Mirza, Adil Sultan Mirza, with all the troops of the left wing, and the ſquadrons of Sultan Juneid Birlaſs, and Shaw Haſſein Birlaſs, againſt this advanced poſt. They accordingly fell in with them the next morning at ſun-riſe, and after an obſtinate conflict, put Daood Chan and Hatim Chan to flight, but the latter fell in the purſuit. The victors took ſeven elephants, and a great number of priſoners, with whom they returned to Baber; but he, we are ſorry to relate ſuch barbarity, put them to death, by way of ſtriking terror into his enemies. Baber arrives at Shawabad. Defeats the van of Ibrahim's army.

Baber advancing to the field of battle, encamped there ſix days, ordering chains to be made to link the carriages of his guns together, to prevent the horſe breaking through them. The army of Sultan Ibrahim, by this time, conſiſted of one hundred thouſand horſe, and a thouſand elephants; that of Sultan Baber, of thirteen thouſand only. When Sultan Ibrahim had advanced near, Baber ordered five thouſand. Preparations for a general engagement.

A. D. 1525. Hig. 932.

thouſand horſe to ſtorm his camp in the night; but finding the enemy upon their guard, this detachment returned without attempting any thing.

This retreat haſtened Sultan Ibrahim to action, and accordingly he marched next morning to Panniput. Baber, at the ſame time, advanced within ſix crores of Ibrahim's encampment. Upon the day after, being the ſeventh of Rigib, the two armies came in ſight of each other. Baber divided his troops into two lines, and four grand diviſions, with a body of reſerve in the rear of each, and a few light horſe to ſkirmiſh in front. The firſt diviſion on the right was commanded by Prince Humaioon, with the ſquadron of Chaja Cullan Beg, Sultan Mahummud Dewilde, Hindo Beg, Willi Beg Chazin, and Pier Kulli Seiſtani. The firſt on the left was under the orders of Mirza Mahummud Sultan, with the ſquadrons of Meridi Chaja, Ghazi Sultan, Sultan Suneid Birlaſs, and Shaw Haſſein Birlaſs. The ſecond, on the right towards the center, was commanded by Chin Timur Sultan, Mirza Mahummud Kokultaſh, and Shaw Munſoor. The ſecond, to the left towards the center, by Meer Chalifa, Tirdi Beg, and Mihib Alli Chalifa. Chuſero Kokultaſh, Mahummud Alli Jungjung, and Mirza Soliman, were appointed to command the light horſe, or herawils, in the front. Abdul Aziz and Bar Tirrah, in the rear of the right, and Kirrah Keri Bahadur and Willi Kizil, in the rear of the left. Beſides which, there was a reſerve in the rear of both lines, that on the right commanded by Malleck Caſim, and that on the left by Alli Bahadur. The king himſelf took his poſt in the centre of the firſt line, after having perſonally given orders to his generals.

Baber forms his army into order of battle.

The emperor Ibrahim, ignorant of the art of war, obſerved no regular order of battle, but drew up his army in one great line, or column, of unequal depth, and ordered them to charge the Mogul army, vainly imagining that he could bear them down by numbers.

Ibrahim draws out his army.

The battle begins.

But

But he found himſelf ſoon fatally deceived. So formidable were the Moguls to the Patans, from their known courage and ſteady order, that the emperor's unweildy column began to break and turn thin, before they came up to the charge, which was directed at the center of the Mogul army. Thoſe who advanced were repulſed with great bravery, but when they ſought to retreat, they found themſelves ſurrounded; for the two bodies of reſerve, in the rear of the Mogul line, had wheeled round their flanks, and meeting in the center, fell upon the rear of thoſe who had advanced to the charge, by which means the Afghans were almoſt all cut to pieces. The reſerve having performed this ſervice, retired to their poſt in the rear, and the Mogul lines advanced, ſuſtaining various irregular charges from the Indian army, whom they repulſed with great ſlaughter.

A. D. 1525. Hig. 932. The Indian army broken.

Sultan Ibrahim, at laſt rouſed with ſhame and indignation, advanced in perſon, followed by the flower of his army, and gave ſuch a violent ſhock to the Mogul line, as threw it into diſorder. Nothing now but perſonal bravery was left to decide the day; but in this, and the compact form in which the Moguls whole force was wedged, they were ſtill ſuperior to the Indians. Five thouſand fell with Sultan Ibrahim in one ſmall ſpot of ground. The Patan army, when their king was ſlain, recoiled like ſurges from a rocky ſhore, and the torrent of flight rolled towards the banks of the Jumna, dying the courſe of that river with blood; for ſo far did Sultan Baber continue the purſuit; but being wearied with ſlaughter, he gave hope to fear, and reſpite to death.

Sultan Ibrahim charges the Moguls in perſon.

Ibrahim killed.

A total overthrow of his army.

According to the moſt moderate accounts there were ſixteen thouſand Afghans killed in this action, though moſt of the Indian authors ſay fifty thouſand. Of the loſs of Baber we have no information; conquerors having it always in their power to conceal the number of their ſlain. We may date from this battle, the fall of the Patan empire, though that race, afterwards made many efforts, and

The fall of the Patan empire.

A. D. 1525. Hig. 932. and recovered it, for a few years, as we ſhall ſee in the life of Humaioon.

Sultan Baber did not fail to make the beſt uſe of his victory. He immediately after the battle detached Humaioon, and three of his principal omrahs, to Agra, before they could have time to recover from their conſternation, or to remove their wealth. He alſo ſent Mahummud Sultan, and three other omrahs, to Delhi, to take poſſeſſion of that capital, while he himſelf came up in the rear, and, on the twelfth of Rigib, entered that city. The chutba was read in his name, by Zein Sidder; and, after having ſurveyed the city, and viſited the tombs of the ſaints and heroes, he ſet out for Agra, where he arrived the twenty fifth of the ſame month, and immediately inveſted the fort, which was in poſſeſſion of the former government, garriſoned by the troops of Raja Bickermagit, of Gualier, who had been killed in the action. But ſo much had the terror of his arms now taken poſſeſſion of every mind, that they immediately deſired to capitulate, and ſent him, by way of ranſom, a perfect diamond weighing two hundred and twenty four ruttys*, which was formerly the property of Sultan Alla ul Dien Chilligi. Sultan Baber preſented it to his ſon Humaioon. Thus, upon the fifth day after his arrival, he was put in poſſeſſion of the place, in which he found the mother of Sultan Ibrahim, who was treated with becoming reſpect, and permitted to carry away all her wealth.

Baber enters Delhi, and aſſumes the empire.

Arrives before Agra,

which ſubmits.

Reflexions upon the conqueſt of Hindoſtan by Baber.

This conqueſt of Hindoſtan, as Baber himſelf writes in his Commentaries †, was certainly ſuperior to that of any former conqueror. Sultan Mahmood of Ghizni was not only a powerful emperor, but the country was, at that time, divided into a number of kingdoms, which greatly facilitated his enterprizes. Shab ul Dien Ghori brought an army of one hundred and twenty thouſand men with him, when the king-

* A rutty is ſeven eighths of a carat.

† The Commentaries of Baber are ſtill extant, and reckoned one of the beſt performances of the kind in the Eaſt.

dom

dom was not ſo powerful. The like may be ſaid of Timur, who ravaged Hindoſtan when it was torn to pieces by civil commotions. But the army of Sultan Baber was but a handful in proportion to that of Sultan Ibrahim, who poſſeſſed all the countries between the Sind and Behar, and could bring five hundred thouſand men to the field; while Baber only poſſeſſed the poor countries of Cabul, Buduchſhan, and Candahar, the revenues of which were very inconſiderable. A. D. 1526. Hig. 933.

To what then can we attribute this extraordinary conqueſt, in a natural light, but to the great abilities and experience of Baber, the bravery of his few hardy troops, trained up to war, for their ſubſiſtance, and now fired with the hopes of glory and gain? But what contributed moſt to weigh down the ſcale of conqueſt, was the degeneracy of the Patans, effeminated by luxury and wealth, and dead to all principles of virtue and honor, which their corrupt factions and civil diſcords had totally effaced; it being now no ſhame to fly, no infamy to betray, no breach of honor to murther, and no ſcandal to change parties. When, therefore, the fear of ſhame and the love of fame were gone, it was no wonder that a herd, without unanimity, order, or diſcipline, ſhould fall into the hands of a few brave men. This is the general tendency of wealth in all governments, if the reins are not held faſt, the laws punctually executed, and the progreſs of corruption checked both by private and public oeconomy.

Upon the twentieth of Rigib, Baber went into the treaſury, which was very rich. He reſerved not a ſingle dinar for himſelf, but divided it among his omrahs and troops; the ſhare of the former coming to two lacks of rupees each; and thoſe of others were proportionable to their rank and ſtations. A part was ſent to Cabul, to be divided among Baber's ſubjects, which yielded to each a ſilver ſharoch *, beſides preſents, which he ſent to Samarcand, Chorraſſan, Baber's generoſity.

* A ſilver ſharoch is in value about a ſhilling ſterling.

A. D. 1526. Hig. 933.

Kaſhgur, Ayrac, Mecca, Medina, Kirbilla, Negif, Muſhad, and other holy places, in charity. This generoſity, which bordered upon prodigality, got Baber the name of a Collinder, whoſe cuſtom it is to keep nothing for to-morrow.

The provincial omrahs refuſe to ſubmit.

As the Patans were in great terror of the Moguls, and had a natural antipathy to their government, they ſtill refuſed to ſubmit, and appeared every where in arms, ſtrengthening their forts, and erecting the ſtandard of defiance in their different provinces; Cazim, in Simbol; Alli Chan Formalli, in Mewat; Mahummud Zeitôn, in Dolepoor; Tatar Chan, in Guahêr; Huſſein Chan Lohani, in Rhaberi; Cuttub Chan, in Atava; Allum Chan, in Calpee; Nizim Chan, in Biana; beſides Naſir Chan Lohani, and Maroof Furmalli, on the other ſide of the Ganges. All theſe omrahs refuſed to acknowledge Baber's authority. But as it was neceſſary to form an alliance for their mutual defence, they unanimouſly appointed Par Chan, the ſon of Diria Chan Lodi, their general, or, rather, king, by the title of Sultan Mahummud; and, rendezvouſing at Kinnoge, advanced towards Agra. At the ſame time, Mai, the Afghan chief, who had joined Baber, now deſerted him, with all his adherents: even the inhabitants of the country round Agra, cut off his foraging parties, and rendered it very difficult for him to ſupport his cavalry, or ſupply his troops with proviſions: Add to this, the intolerable heat of the weather, by which a great many Moguls, not being accuſtomed to ſuch a climate, died.

Raiſe Mahummud to the throne.

Baber's diſtreſsful ſituation.

His reſolute behavior.

In this ſituation of affairs, Baber received an addreſs from all his omrahs, adviſing him to return to Cabul; to which he replied, That a kingdom which had coſt him ſo much pains in taking, was not to be wreſted from him but by death alone. He, at the ſame time, iſſued a proclamation, that he was determined to abide his fate in Hindoſtan; but if any perſon was deſirous of returning to Cabul, preferring ſafety to glory, and ignoble eaſe to the manly toils and dangers

dangers of war, they might retire in peace, and leave him only thoſe whoſe valor would reflect honour on themſelves, and glory on their king and country. A. D. 1526. Hig. 933.

The omrahs hearing this, were aſhamed of their former behavior, and, ſtriking their breaſts, ſwore they would never forſake him; all, except Chaja Callân, whoſe bravery was too well eſtabliſhed to be diſputed, though he was adviſed, being at the point of death, to retire to recover his health. He was appointed governor of Cabul and Ghizni, for the great ſervices which he had rendered to the king. When it was known that Baber had determined not to leave Hindoſtan, as his anceſtor Timur had done, ſome omrahs, who were willing to be firſt in favor, began to come over to him; firſt, Shech Gurin, with three thouſand horſe, from between the rivers, offered his ſervice, which was accepted. The next was Alli Chan Formalli, from Mewat, to redeem his ſons who had been taken in the battle; then Firoſe Chan and Shech Baizid Chirmali, with their whole dependents.

Some Patan chiefs come over to his party.

Much about this time, an addreſs was received from Caſim, of Simbol, that Bein, an Afghan, was beſieging him in his fort, and that if the ſultan would ſend him ſuccours, he would liſt himſelf among his ſervants. The king ſent Kokultaſh, with a detachment, that way, who engaged Bein, the Afghan, and defeated him, after which Caſim put the Moguls in poſſeſſion of the fort. The king then ſent his ſon Humaioon, with the greateſt part of his army, againſt the confederate omrahs, whoſe forces amounted to fifty thouſand horſe; but, upon Humaioon's approach, they retreated from Kinnoge to Jionpoor. Humaioon having prevailed upon Fatie Chan, the former emperor's vizier, to join him, ſent him to the king at Agra, who treated him with the utmoſt reſpect and favor, which induced ſeveral other Afghan chiefs to come over to his intereſt.

Caſim of Simbol ſubmits.

Humaioon marches againſt the confederate omrahs.

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Nizam, governor of Biana, submits.

Nizam Chan, governor of Biana, though he was now hard preſſed by Rana Sinka, who wanted to make himſelf maſter of that province, ſtill refuſed to ſubmit to the king's authority, which obliged Baber to ſend Baba Kuli againſt him with a detachment, which was defeated. But Rana Sinka ſoon after reduced Nizam to ſuch extremities, that he ſent a deputation to Sultan Baber, begging pardon for his offence, and requeſting he would ſupport him, for which he was ready to pay him due allegiance. The king, glad of the opportunity, made no heſitation to embrace the offer, and, ſending a force to drive off Rana, Nizam was put in poſſeſſion of the place, which was ſettled upon him, with all its dependencies, for the annual payment of twenty lacks of rupees.

The governors of Gualier propoſe to ſubmit.

Tatar Chan and Saring Chan, who were in poſſeſſion of the fort of Gualiêr, being beſieged by Muckit Roy, raja of that country, in the ſame manner addreſſed the king for ſuccours. Baber diſpatched Rehim Daad and Shech Gurin, with a detachment, which defeated the raja, but Saring Chan recalled his promiſe, and refuſed to deliver up the place. There was in the fort, at that time, a philoſopher whoſe name was Shech Mahummud Goſe, who had a great number of ſtudents under him, and who wrote to Rehim Daad, to endeavour to get permiſſion to come himſelf into the fort, and that he would find means of accompliſhing the reſt of his deſires.

Gualier taken by a ſtratagem.

Rehim Daad, for this purpoſe, begged leave, as he had enemies all around him, to bring his troops under protection of the garriſon, for fear of a night aſſault, and that he might be permitted the honor of paying the philoſopher a viſit in the garriſon. This being agreed to, Rehim Daad was received into the fort with a few attendants. He, from time to time, pretended occaſion to ſend frequent meſſages in and out; till the officer of the guard troubled the governor ſo often for leave, that he deſired Rehim Daad to ſend one

of

of his own ſervants, to point out ſuch neceſſary people as he might want to have free ingreſs and egreſs. A. D. 1526. Hig. 933.

The officer of the guard, who was a diſciple of the philoſopher, and who had been let into the plot, availed himſelf of this order, and permitted every body Rehim Daad's ſervant pointed out, to paſs, by which means all the choſen men of the detachment were within the garriſon before the entertainment was ended. Saring Chan was told to give up the place, and threatened with inſtant death, in caſe of refuſal; ſo having ſatisfied himſelf of the circumſtances, he made a virtue of neceſſity, and replied, That had he not intended giving up the place to the king, he would never have been ſo unguarded as to permit his party to take this advantage, and accordingly ſubmitted without reſiſtance, going in perſon to Agra, and entered into the king's ſervice. Mahummud Zeiton, at the ſame time, arrived from Dolepoor, and had a command conferred upon him.

Not long after theſe tranſactions, Hamid Chan, Saring Chan, and other Afghans, raiſed, by a family quarrel, a great diſturbance in the caſtle of Firoſa. The king ſent Chin Timur Sultan, Abul Fatte Turkuman, and others, againſt them, who chaſtiſed both parties.

In the year nine hundred and thirty three, Chajagi Aſſid, who had gone ambaſſador from Cabul to Shaw Tamas of Irack, returned, accompanied by Solimân, and brought various curioſities. But that which pleaſed the king moſt, was two beautiful female ſlaves, juſt come to maturity, of whom he became greatly enamoured. The mother of Sultan Ibrahim, who had been before the greateſt favorite in the ſeraglio, incenſed at this change in the ſultan's affections, conſpired with the taſter and cook to poiſon him. The poiſon was accordingly adminiſtred in ſome hare-ſoup; but the king, after eating

An attempt to poiſon Baber.

A. D. 1526. Hig. 933.

ing a few ſpoonfuls, nauſeated the taſte, and immediately vomited, which ſaved his life. After proper enquiry had been made, the taſter and cook denying their knowledge of any ſuch thing, the king ordered a dog to be brought, who having eat of the ſoup, was ſoon ſeized with convulſions, and died. Two of the under cooks being alſo brought to the trial, expired in the ſame manner: upon which the taſter and head cook, with ſeveral of their aſſiſtants, were put to the torture. The plot was diſcovered, and the mother of Sultan Ibrahim caſt into priſon, and all her wealth confiſcated. One of Sultan Ibrahim's ſons was ſent, at the ſame time, to Cabul, where he remained in baniſhment.

The conſpirators puniſhed.

Prince Humaioon defeats the confederate omrahs.

Prince Humaioon, having defeated the omrahs at Jionpoor, left Sultan Sumeid Birlaſs to keep thoſe provinces in awe, and returned himſelf to court, having, upon his way, conciliated matters with Allum Chan, governor of Calpee, who now accompanied him, and was received with great reſpect.

Baber alarmed by a confederacy againſt him.

The king was, at this time, ſuddenly alarmed by advices that Rana Sinka, Haſſen Chan Mewati, Raw Dedive of Backeri, Medini Raw of Chunderi, Mahmood Chan, the ſon of Sultan Secunder Lodi, and other omrahs and rajas in alliance, whoſe force exceeded one hundred thouſand horſe, were preparing to attack him. Baber, having no dependence on the Patan omrahs, who had joined him, detached them to defend different provinces, and with his own Moguls, haſtened towards the enemy. His van guard falling in with their's, upon the frontiers of Biana, after a ſharp conflict, were repulſed by the enemy with great loſs, which ſtruck unuſual terror into the ſultan's ſmall army. Hybat Chan Neazi fled to Simbol, Haſſen Chan joined the enemy, and every day brought diſagreeable intelligence from all quarters. Nor did the predictions of Mahummud Sherif a little add to the general conſternation.

Marches againſt them.

His van defeated.

A general conſternation.

This

This pretended wizard averred, that Briſput * was in the eaſt, and conſequently, that whoever marched from the weſt ſhould be overthrown. A. D. 1526. Hig. 933.

A council of war.

The king perceiving this panic, called, immediately, a council of war. The greateſt part of the officers gave it, as their opinion, that, as the ſuperiority of the enemy was evident, it was adviſeable to leave a ſtrong garriſon in Agra, and to retreat with the bulk of the army to Punjaab.

The intrepid conduct of Baber.

Baber, with a diſcontented aſpect, fixed his eyes, in ſilence, upon the ground. He, at length, ſternly aſked the omrahs, What would the world ſay of a monarch, whom the fear of death ſhould oblige to abandon ſuch a kingdom? "The voice of glory," ſaid he, "is loud "in my ear, and forbids me to diſgrace my name, by giving up "what my arms have, with ſo much difficulty, acquired. But, as death "is at laſt unavoidable, let us rather meet him with honor, face "to face, than ſhrink back, to gain a few years of a miſerable and "ignominious exiſtence; for what can we inherit but fame, beyond "the limits of the grave." The whole aſſembly, as if inſpired by one ſoul, cried out, at once, "War! War!"

Prohibits the uſe of wine in the camp.

The ſultan, having been formerly much addicted to wine, made a vow never to drink any more, ſhould he, upon this occaſion, prove victorious. Orders were immediately iſſued to prohibit the ſale of wine in the camp: not ſo much from ſuperſtition, as to keep the mind cool for action.

Upon the ninth of Jimmad ul Sani, of the year nine hundred and thirty three, which happened to be Noroſe †, Baber formed his line of battle, with his guns and rockets in his front. In that order

* The planet Mars.

† New-Year's Day.

he

A. D. 1526. Hig. 933. Marches towards the enemy.

he moved towards the enemy, who lay at the diſtance of three crores. But after he had advanced one crore he halted, and encamped his army. Several young warriors, fond of diſtinguiſhing themſelves, iſſued out, under the command of Mahummud Caſim, to ſkirmiſh with the enemy's ſcouts and advanced guards, among whom they did great execution.

The enemy advance to attack him.

The ſultan, next day, advanced another crore, and marked out his camp at the village of Kava, but his tents were ſcarcely pitched, when he perceived the enemy advancing upon him. He formed his line with great expedition, in the manner which he had practiſed for ſome days before, and, in a few minutes, was able to receive the ſhock of battle. The army was chiefly drawn up by Nizam ul Dien Chalipha, whom Baber reckoned his ableſt general; and this order of battle being, on account of circumſtances, different from the former, we ſhall relate it at large in this place.

The order of battle.

The line which, upon this occaſion was ſingle, conſiſted of ſix brigades, excluſive of the king's life guards in the center, where Baber poſted himſelf. Before each of the brigades, a few paces in front, the ſultan placed a ſquadron of light horſe, which formed another kind of line with great intervals. In front of the whole, the artillery and rocket-waggons were drawn up in three diviſions, the right, left, and center. The guns were chained together, ſo that there was a kind of fortification formed againſt the enemy's cavalry.

Arrangement of the troops.

The brigade immediately to the right of the center, was commanded by Chin Timur Sultan, conſiſting of his own tribe, and the troops of Soliman Shaw, Shaw Munſur Birlas, Durveſh Mahummud Sarban, Abdulla Kitabdar, and Doſt Aiſheck Aka. The brigade to the left of the center was under the immediate orders of Allum Chan, the ſon of Sultan Beloli, and compoſed of his own troops,

troops, and thoſe of Sheick Zein Chani Siddir, Mahummud Ali Tirdi-Beg, Shere Afgan, Araiſh Chan, and Chaja Haſſein. The two brigades of the right wing were commanded in chief by Prince Humaioon, and of theſe the right hand brigade conſiſted of the troops of Caſim Haſſein Sultan, Ahmed Euſoph, Hindo Beg Cochin, Chuſero Cokultaſh, Mallec Caſim, Kawam Beg, Awind Shaw, Willi Chazin, Mirza Combuzli, Peer Kulli Seiſtani, Chaja Pulwan Buduchſhi, Abdu Shukur, Soliman Aka, the ambaſſador of Irack, and Haſſen, the envoy of Seiſtan. The left hand battalion of Prince Humaioon's diviſion was made up of the troops of Seid Meer Shech, Mahummud Kokultaſh, Chajagi Aſſid, Chan Chanan, the ſon of Dowlat Chan Lodi, Malleck Daood Kirrani, and Shech Gurin.

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Prince Humaioon commands the right wing.

The two brigades of the left wing were commanded by Seid Chaja; the left hand battalion of whoſe diviſion was compoſed of the troops of Mahummud Sultan Mirza, Adil Sultan Adbul Aziz, Mahummud Alli Jung-jung, and Kuttulack Kaddim. The right hand brigade was made up of the troops of Amir Angi Mogul, Jan Beg Atka, Sittal Chan, Kumal Chan, of the race of Alla ul Dien, Sultan Alli Chan, Shech Zadda Chermilli, and Nizim Chan Biana. The light horſe of the left wing were commanded by Tirdi Beg, Mumin Atka, and Ruſtum Turkuman; and thoſe of the left wing by Mahmood Caſim, Jiſſerat Chan, and Chan Bahadur. Sultan Mahummud, Buchſhi *, took poſt before the king, with all his yeſſawils †, and a choice body of horſe.

Seid Chaja the left,

Baber himſelf the center.

About ten o'clock in the forenoon the action was commenced by the artillery. The left of the enemy, charging the right of the Moguls, ſoon fell in hand to hand, with the battalions of Kokultaſh and Malleck Caſim, and made them give ground. But Chin Timur, by the ſultan's orders, inclining to the right with his brigade, took

The battle begins.

* Captain-General. † Aids de Camp.

A. D. 1526. Hig. 933. up their ground, and falling upon the aſſailants with great fury, put them to flight, the light horſe purſuing them with great ſlaughter, quite through their own line. The enemy, in the mean time, being ſo numerous, extended their flanks far beyond the wings of the ſultan, and came down upon him from all ſides. Baber ordered his right and left wing to fall back, by which means his army was thrown into a circle. In this poſition he reſiſted the repeated aſſaults of the Patans till three o'clock, Alla Kuli Rumi, who commanded the artillery, making great ſlaughter among them.

Baber's army ſurrounded.

Baber finding the enemy fatigued by their repeated aſſaults, determined to act offenſively, to drive them quite out of the field. He therefore put himſelf at the head of the brigades of Chin Timur and Allum Chan, and charging them like a lion ruſhing from his foreſt, after an obſtinate reſiſtance put their whole army to flight. Haſſen Chan, of Mewat, was killed with a cannon ſhot, and Raw Luddive Rai, Chunder Ban Chohan, Mannuk Chand Chohan, Kirim Sing, all powerful princes of the enemy, were numbered among the dead.

He overthrows the enemy.

The ſultan, immediately after the victory, aſſumed the title of Ghazi *; and, as a monument to perpetuate the memory of the battle, he ordered a pyramid to be built upon an eminence near the field, which, according to the cuſtom of his age and nation, was ſtuck round with the heads of the ſlain. The aſtrologer, after being ſeverely reprimanded for his falſe prediction, was preſented with a lack of rupees, and baniſhed from the kingdom.

The ſultan aſſumes the title of Ghazi.

Baber, from this fortunate field, marched towards Mavat, where Nihar Chan, the ſon of Haſſen Chan, ſeeing no other means of ſafety, ſubmitted himſelf and the country to the king. The government of Mavat was conferred upon Chin Timur Sultan.

Reduces Mavat.

* Ghazi ſignifies a warrior.

After

A. D. 1527. Hig. 934.

After theſe tranſactions, Baber returned to Agra, from whence he ſent his ſon Humaioon to Cabul, with orders to add Balich to that province, and to rule both in his own name. Mahummud Alli, Tirdi Beg, and Kotch Beg, were ordered againſt Haſſein Chan and Diria Chan, who ſtill kept poſſeſſion of Chandwar and Raberi. But upon the approach of the Moguls, they fled, and Haſſein Chan was drowned in croſſing the Jumna, while Diria Chan eſcaped. Mahummud Sultan Mirza was detached at the ſame time to Kinnoge, againſt Bein Afghan, who fled from thence to Cheirabad.

Humaioon ſent to Cabul.

Upon the twenty ninth of Zihidge, in the year nine hundred and thirty four, the king marched to hunt towards Kole and Simbol. Having diverted himſelf with the chace for ſome time, he returned to his capital, and was taken ill of a fever, of which however he ſoon recovered. He then marched towards Chinderi, where Medeni Rai had ſhut himſelf up with a ſtrong garriſon of Rajaputs. The place was inveſted, and the Rajaputs ſallied out, and attacked the king, but they paid dear for their raſhneſs, and loſt ſix thouſand men upon the field. Thoſe who returned after this defeat into the fort, ſeeing no hopes of defending it longer againſt the enemy, according to their dreadful cuſtom, murdered their wives and children in the following manner. They placed a ſword in the hand of one of their chiefs, and he ſlew the unhappy victims, who, one after another, bent, of their own accord, their necks before him; they even contended among themſelves about the honor of being firſt ſlain. The ſoldiers then threw a yellow powder upon their garments, as on a day of feſtivity, and throwing looſe their hair, iſſued forth with their ſwords and ſhields, and fought after that death, which they all obtained. The empty fort fell into the hands of the Moguls.

Baber inveſts Chinderi.

The beſiegers defeated in a ſally.

Murder their wives and children,

and are all ſlain.

Advices were, about this time, received, that a detachment, which had been ſent againſt the omrahs of the Eaſt, was defeated. The

Baber defeats the omrahs of the eaſt.

A. D. 1528. Hig. 935. king, therefore, left Ahmed Shaw, the ſon of Mahummud Shaw, and grandſon of Sultan Naſir ul Dien Malvi, who had now joined him, in the government of Chinderi, and marched in perſon towards Kinnogi. He met his defeated troops at Raberi, and arriving at the river, he threw over it a bridge of boats. Chin Timur was ordered to croſs in the front, the enemy being then on the oppoſite ſhore. After a faint reſiſtance, the Patans gave way; but Chin Timur purſuing them, took part of their baggage, and a great number of their women and children.

Arrives at Agra. The king, after this victory, hunted, for a few days, upon the banks of the Gang, and then returned to Agra. He appointed Mahummud Zeman Mirza, the ſon of Budeli ul Zeman Mirza, of Balich, governor of the city, and, in the year nine hundred and thirty five, marched himſelf to ſurvey the country. He firſt took

Makes a progreſs towards Gualier. the route of Gualier, and viewed there the fortifications, the ſtone elephant, and the palace of Raja Man Sing. He then viſited the gardens of Rehim Daad, and ordered ſome flowers and plants, of an uncommon kind, to be tranſplanted to Agra. He went to worſhip in the great Muſgid, built by Sultan Shumſe ul Dien Altumſh,

Returns to Agra, and for whoſe ſoul he ordered prayers to be read, and returned, by another way, to Agra.

falls ſick. The ſultan, ſoon after his return to Agra, was ſeized with an intermitting fever, which continued upon him for eight months. Some ſuperſtitious people adviſed him, during his ſickneſs, to write a poem in praiſe of Chaja Abud Ahrar, one of the ſaints, to induce him to intercede with God for his health. Baber, though it is highly probable he did not give much credit to the power of the ſaint, actually wrote the poem, in the meaſure of Mowlani Jami, or Rimel Muſſiddiſs.

The

The king recovered from his diſorder about the eighth of Ribbi ul Awil. He offered up public thanks to God for the reſtoration of his health, and made a great feaſt upon the occaſion. He diſtributed magnificent preſents among the omrahs and foreign ambaſſadors, and beſtowed large ſums to gladden the hearts of the poor. During this feſtival, Chandamire, the author of the Habib al Sier, Mowlana Shab Mammai, and Mirza Ibrahim Canooni, who came from Herât, and were eſteemed the greateſt geniuſſes of that age, were introduced to the king: He loaded them with his favors, and ordered them places near his own perſon. A. D. 1528. Higr. 935. Recovers. His generoſity to learned men.

Mirza Aſhkari, who governed Moultan, was, this year, ordered to court, and having exhibited the tokens of obedience, he was commanded to go againſt Nuſerit Shaw. Nuſerit, hearing of the approach of the Moguls, ſent an ambaſſador to the king, ſubjecting himſelf to the royal authority. Barhan Nizam Shaw Beri, prince of Ahmednagur, at the ſame time ſent to congratulate Baber on his good fortune, and proffered obedience. Mirza Aſhkari ſent againſt Nuſerit Shaw, who ſubmits.

Baber, towards the cloſe of this year, received advices that Sultan Mahmood, the ſon of Secunder Lodi, had poſſeſſed himſelf of the province of Behar, and that Bellocha had erected the ſtandard of rebellion in Moultan. The king ſent orders to his omrahs in the north-weſt, concerning the affairs of Moultan, and marched in perſon towards Behar. When he arrived at Kurrah, Sultan Jellal ul Dien Shirki prepared a royal entertainment for him, and was honored with his preſence. Mahummud Zeman Mirza was detached from Kurrah to the conqueſt of Behar. He ſoon drove Sultan Mahmood out of the field. Inſurrections in Behar and Moultan. Baber marches to Behar. Defeats the enemy.

But a few months after, the Afghans of Behar, collecting themſelves together a ſecond time, advanced to the Gang, oppoſite to Hideri. The king detached Aſhkari Mirza with a diviſion of the troops

A. D. 1529. Hig. 936. troops to oppoſe them, and next day followed that officer with the whole army. When he came to the banks of the river, and ſaw the enemy on the oppoſite bank, he was preparing boats to croſs; but Chin Timur begged permiſſion to go before. As ſoon as he made his landing good with eighty horſe, Mirza Aſhkari, who had croſſed at another place, appeared in the enemies rear; and they immediately took to flight. The king, after this action, left Sultan Junied Birlaſs to proſecute the war in conjunction with Nuſerit Shaw, and returned to paſs the rainy ſeaſon in Agra. He viſited, upon his way, Shech Eiah, at Monier, the father of Shech Sherrif Moniri, and carried him to court.

Tranſactions in Cabul.

Humaioon having left Mirza Hindal to govern in his abſence, returned about this time from Cabul to viſit his father. Sultan Seid Chan of Argund, took this opportunity of invading Buduchſhan, and ſent Mirza Hyder Dughelaff, to attack Minkilla. Hindal, upon the approach of the enemy, retreated into the fort of Ziffer, where he was beſieged. Sultan Seid of Argund, finding that he could not reduce the place, and that the inhabitants would not join him, ravaged the country, and returned home. But as the news of his retreat had not reached Agra, the government of Buduchſhan was beſtowed upon Soliman Mirza, who ſet out immediately for that province with a letter from the king to Sultan Seid Chan, expreſſing his ſurprize at hoſtilities, for which he could not account, but by ſome miſbehavior of Mirza Hindal; that, therefore, he had ſent another perſon, who was allied to them both, to ſupply his place. When Soliman Mirza arrived, he found the country in perfect tranquillity, and took poſſeſſion of the government, which his family have kept to this day. Mirza Hindal returned to Agra.

The ſultan falls ſick,

In the year nine hundred and thirty ſix, the ſultan fell ſick, and his diſorder continued daily to gain ſtrength, in ſpite of the power of medicine. Deſpairing at laſt of life, he recalled his ſon Humaioon,

maioon, who was then beſieging the fort of Callinger, and appointed him his ſucceſſor. Upon Monday, the fifth of Jemmad ul Awil, in the year nine hundred and thirty ſeven, he reſigned in peace that life which he had ſo often expoſed in war. According to his will, his body was carried to Cabul, and interred in a holy ſepulchre. A. D. 1530. Hig. 937. and dies.

What ſhall we ſay of Baber, the wonder of the age in which he lived! He mounted a throne at twelve years of age, and, with various turns of fortune, reigned thirty eight. He was a prince of great humanity, and he carried his generoſity to ſuch exceſs, that it bordered upon prodigality. With reſpect to the firſt, he ſo often pardoned ingratitude and treaſon, that he ſeemed to make a principle of rendering good for evil. He thus diſarmed vice, and made the wicked the worſhipers of his virtue. His character. His humanity and generoſity.

He was of the ſect of the Hanifites, in whoſe doctrine and tenets he was perfectly verſed; yielding more to the evidence of reaſon, than to the marvellous legends of ſuperſtitious antiquity. He was not, however, forgetful of that rational worſhip which is due to the great Creator, nor a deſpiſer of thoſe laws and ceremonies which are founded on ſound policy for the benefit of the ſuperficial judges of things. He was a maſter in the arts of Poetry, Writing, and Muſic. He wrote his own Commentaries in the Mogul language, with ſuch elegance and propriety, that they are univerſally admired. This work was tranſlated, in the reign of Ackbar, by Chan Chanan, into the Perſian language, and from it we have abridged the preceding hiſtory of the life of Baber. His religion. His genius for the fine arts.

In his perſon, he was ſomething above the middle ſize, nervous, and well formed. His countenance was pleaſant, and in diſpoſition he was eaſy, facetious, and affable.

To

A. D. 1530. Hig. 937. His juſtice.

To eſtabliſh his reputation for juſtice and honor, we ſhall relate one inſtance out of many. When he was prince of Ferghana, a rich caravan of Chitta and China, which was croſſing the mountains of Indija, was buried in the ſnow. He ordered all the goods to be collected, and ſent meſſengers to China to proclaim the accident, and bring the owners, or their heirs, to his court. Upon their arrival, at the end of two years, he entertained them hoſpitably, and returned them all their goods, not only refuſing to accept a preſent, but even to be reimburſed for his expences.

Addicted to pleaſure.

Notwithſtanding his great vigor in war, he was much addicted to wine and women, and all the faſhionable pleaſures of courts. He ſometimes uſed, when he had an inclination to make merry, to fill a fountain with wine, upon which was inſcribed a verſe to this purpoſe: "Jovial days! Blooming ſprings! Old wine, and young "maidens! Enjoy freely, O Baber, for life is not twice to be en-"joyed!" He then would ſit down in the midſt of his friends, drink freely, and feaſt his eyes on the daughters of beauty who danced before him.

Whitherſoever he marched, or rode, he always had the road meaſured after him. This cuſtom obtains with the emperors of Hindoſtan to this day. He made a ſtatute concerning the meaſurement of diſtances, which has hitherto remained in force. He appointed a hundred tinnabs to one crore, each tinnab being forty guz *.

His talents for war.

With reſpect to his military character, he ſeems to have had few that could equal him. He rendered the moſt dangerous enterprizes eaſy, by his undaunted courage and perſeverance, which roſe above all difficulties, and made him much more the object of admiration in his adverſity, than in the height of his proſperity. Nor did he for-

* A guz is not quite an Engliſh mile.

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get himſelf in the latter, but always behaved with that moderation and equanimity which characterizes a great ſoul. A. D. 1530. Hig. 937.

We have already traced Baber's deſcent from Timur; but as he was the founder of a great dynaſty, it will be proper to follow his genealogy further back into antiquity. The great Chingez Chan, the ſon of Piſſuka, the ſon of Pirna, had four ſons of renown, who were all kings, and the fathers of nations. Their names were Oktai Chaân, Chigittai Chan, Judgi Chan, and Tooli Chan. Though Oktai Chaân was not the eldeſt ſon, yet he was, by his father, appointed his ſucceſſor, and ruled in Kirrakerim and Kilwarân, which were the original territories of Chingez Chan. Oktai Chan died, by exceſs of wine, in the year ſix hundred and thirty nine. His genealogy.

Chigittai Chan, the ſecond ſon, poſſeſſed the kingdoms of Maverulnere, Tarkiſtân, Balich, and Buduchſhan, and became the greateſt of the family. Kirrachar Nuain, who was the fifth anceſtor of Timur, was one of his omrahs, and, at length, captain general of all his forces. The genealogy of Kirrachar runs thus: Timur, the ſon of Amir Jiraghai, the ſon of Amir Birkit, the ſon of Alingar Bahadur, the ſon of Abhil Luiân, the ſon of Kirrachar Nuian, the ſon of Sagungi, the ſon of Ibumgi Berlaſs, the ſon of Katchuli Badahur, the ſon of Jumnai Chan, the ſon of Bacſinker Chan, the ſon of Kidu Chan, who, by the mother's ſide, was deſcended from Baſinger, a lady, from whom Chingez Chan derived his pedigree. The family of Timur, or Tamerlane.

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THE

HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

PART V.

The Hiſtory of the Life of HUMAIOON, the Son of BABER.

SECTION I.

The reign of HUMAIOON, till his expulſion from HINDOSTAN.

NASIR ul Dien Mahummud HUMAIOON, immediately after the death of Baber, mounted the throne of his father, in Hindoſtan. He was a great aſtronomer, and took much delight in judicial aſtrology. He fitted up ſeven houſes of entertainment, and named them after the ſeven planets. In each he gave public audience, according to the ruling planet of the day, ordering all the furniture, paintings, and alſo the dreſſes of thoſe who waited upon him, to bear ſomething that was an emblem of the tutelar ſtar of the houſe. He even endeavored to ſuit the people, who came to pay their reſpects, to the ſuppoſed influence of the planet, which preſided over the time of their attendance. In the houſe of the

A. D. 1530. Hig. 937. Mahummud Humaioon a great aſtronomer.

A. D. 1531. Hig. 938. Moon met foreign embaſſadors, travellers, and poets. Military men attended him in the houſe of Briſput *, and judges, lawgivers, and ſecretaries, were received in that of the Recorder of Heaven †.

But the urgency of important affairs did not permit Humaioon to follow long theſe innocent whims. Such only ſuited the days of peace, when the mind might enjoy her harmleſs follies. He ſcarcely had aſcended the throne, when his brother, Mirza Camiran, who was then in Cabul, formed a deſign of making himſelf maſter of Punjaab. To conceal his intentions, he gave out, that he was going to Hindoſtan, to congratulate Humaioon upon his acceſſion. The king being, however, apprized of Camiran's views, by his behavior in thoſe countries through which he paſſed, and being extremely unwilling to make war upon his brother, conſented to let him govern Punjaab, Piſhawir, Lemghan, Cabul, Candahar, and Biana. This effectually ſtopped the progreſs of Mirza Camiran.

Deſigns of his brother againſt him.

Promotions. The king, in the mean time, conferred the government of Mewat upon Mirza Hindal, his brother, and appointed Mirza Aſkari to that of Simbol, the other provinces being left in the poſſeſſion of the former ſubas.

Humaioon beſieges Callinger. Humaioon, in the year nine hundred and thirty eight, led an army againſt the ſtrong fortreſs of Callinger, and inveſted the place. While the king carried on the ſiege, Mahmood, the ſon of Sultan Secunder Lodi, in conjunction with Bein Afgan, took poſſeſſion of Jionpoor, and kindled the flames of war in the eaſt. Humaioon, having received intelligence of theſe commotions, decamped from before Callinger, marched to Jionpoor, in a pitched battle overthrew the Afghans, and reinſtated Juneid Birlaſs in his former gooment of that province.

* The planet Mars. † Mercury.

The

The ſultan, after this ſignal victory, returned to Agra, and beſtowed chelats upon above twelve thouſand of his courtiers. He, in the mean time, diſpatched a herald to Shere Chan, and demanded poſſeſſion of the fortreſs of Chinâr *, which being refuſed, the ſultan marched his army that way. When Humaioon lay before Chinâr, he was informed, that Sultan Bahadur, of Guzerat, had turned towards him the points of his ſpears. This obliged him to patch up a kind of a peace with Shere Chan, and to return towards Agra. Guttub Chan, the ſon of Shere Chan, whom the emperor had taken as an hoſtage, found means, on the way, to make his eſcape, and to return to his father at Chinâr. A. D. 1531. Hig. 938. Demands poſſeſſion of Chinâr.

Mahummud Ziman Mirza, the grandſon of Sultan Huſſein Mirza, aſpired to the throne, and was ſupported in his pretenſions by the omrahs of Chigittai. The plot was diſcovered, and the leader of the conſpiracy pardoned: But Humaioon finding him, a ſecond time, meditating treaſonable practices, he ordered him to be confined in the fortreſs of Biana. Orders were given to put out the eyes of Mahummud Sultan and Nuherit Mirza, for being the principal abettors of the prince's ambitious deſigns; but the perſon to whom it was intruſted to inflict this puniſhment, ſaved the eyes of the former, while the latter found means to eſcape to Guzerat. Mahummud Sultan, by the aid of his ſons Ali Mirza and Shaw Mirza, who formed a party, was carried away to Kinnoge, where he was joined by about ſix thouſand Moguls, Afghans, and Rajaputs. A conſpiracy diſcovered.

Humaioon ſent to Bahadur, the governor of Kinnoge, and commanded him to deliver up Mahummud, but he rejected the orders in an inſolent manner, which obliged the emperor to march againſt him. Bahadur had, about this time, reſolved to wreſt the fort of Rebellion at Kinnoge.

* Chinâr is a very ſtrong fortreſs in the province of Oud, within ſeven crores of Benaris; Both Shere Chan and Sultan Bahadur were governors under the former empire, and had, after the death of Ibrahim, aſſumed independence.

Chitor

A. D. 1532. Hig. 939.

Chitor from Rana Bickermagit. Rana threw himſelf under the protection of Humaioon; but the emperor, for what reaſon is not known, having advanced as far as Gualier, encamped there for two months, and returned, without effecting any thing, to Agra. Rana Bickermagit, deſpairing of relief, ſent a crown, and a conſiderable ſum of money, to Bahadur, which induced him to raiſe the ſiege.

Sultan Bahadur

Sultan Bahadur, whoſe affairs were now in a very proſperous ſituation, by the reduction of Mendu, and other places, began to ſhew his contempt of Humaioon, by advancing the conſpirator Mahummud to great honors. He alſo prompted Sultan Alla ul Dien, the ſon of the emperor Beloli Lodi, to attempt to poſſeſs himſelf of the throne of Delhi. He, for this purpoſe, made Tatar Chan, the ſon

ſends an army againſt Humaioon,

of Sultan Alla ul Dien, his general, and diſpatched him, with forty thouſand men, againſt Humaioon, with which he ſubdued Biana, and advanced to the environs of Agra.

This preſſing danger awaked the king from his lethargy. He immediately ſent Mirza Hindal, with a force, to oppoſe Tatar Chan. When the armies approached one another, there was ſo great a deſertion from Tatar's troops, that, in the ſpace of ten days, ten thouſand horſe ſcarce remained to him. He however reſolved, with theſe, to ſtand his ground, and give battle to the imperial army,

which is totally defeated.

but he was totally overthrown, loſt the moſt of his troops, three hundred officers of diſtinction, and his own life. Mirza Hindal, after this victory, retook Biana, and all the other places which had before fallen into the hands of the enemy, and returned in triumph to Agra.

Bahadur marches againſt Chitor.

Sultan Bahadur, in the year nine hundred and forty, marched, a ſecond time, towards Chitor; and, in the mean time, Humaioon ordered a fort to be built in Delhi, on the banks of the Jumna, which he called Dien Panna. He, ſoon after, marched towards Saringpoor,

Saringpoor, which then held of Bahadur, as ſultan of Guzerat, and wrote to him a punning couplet, unworthy of the dignity and majeſty of a king. Chitor, in the Perſian language, ſignifies, *in what manner*; and upon this was founded the miſerable witticiſm contained in the verſes. The words were, "O thou plunderer of the city of "Chitor! *in what manner* canſt thou conquer the idolaters? For when "thou wouldſt wiſh to conquer Chitor; thou know'ſt not *in what* "*manner* the king comes to conquer thee." A. D. 1533. Hig. 940. Humaioon ſends him a punning letter.

Bahadur anſwered Humaioon in his own ſtrain, and in the following words: "I, who am the plunderer of Chitor, will conquer the "idolaters by valor; and he who dares not ſuccour Chitor, ſhall ſee "*in what manner* he himſelf ſhall be conquered." The wit is wretched on both ſides; but he who began the pun is moſt to blame. Bahadur's anſwer.

Sultan Bahadur, after ſending the above billet to Humaioon, called a council of war. It was the opinion of the majority, that as Humaioon had all his force with him, it were better to raiſe the ſiege, and march againſt him, and thus to take up the war by the roots. Others urged, that Humaioon was ſo rigid in his religious principles, that he would not diſturb them in their war with idolaters; that therefore it was moſt adviſeable to finiſh the ſiege, which was now far advanced, and afterwards to think of other matters. Calls a council of war.

Bahadur himſelf favoured the latter opinion. The ſiege was accordingly continued; and Humaioon, piquing himſelf upon his religious principles, continued loitering at Saringpoor, till Sultan Bahadur had taken the fort. Bahadur, in the year nine hundred and forty one, marched with great expedition againſt Humaioon, who, hearing of his approach, marched forward to meet him. The two armies appeared in front of each other, near Munſoor. Sultan Bahadur, who had collected a great train of artillery, by advice of his engineer, Takes Chitor and marches againſt the emperor.

A. D. 1534. Hig. 941. Entrenches his army.

engineer, Romi Chan, entrenched his army, and placed his cannon in redoubts, in his front. This prevented Humaioon from riſquing an attack, and both armies continued in ſight of one another for the ſpace of two months. Daily ſkirmiſhes were, in the mean time, fought, with various ſucceſs.

Humaioon cuts off his ſupplies.

Humaioon, finding that he could not draw Bahadur out of his trenches, employed all his attention to cut off his ſupplies. He ordered his horſe, in ſucceſſive bodies of five or ſix thouſand, to ſcour the rear of the enemy, by which means famine began ſoon to be ſeverely felt in their camp; men, horſes, elephants, and camels, periſhing daily in great numbers.

Cowardice and flight of Bahadur.

Bahadur, inſtead of making one brave effort to relieve himſelf, permitted baſe fear and deſpair to ſeize upon him; and, with only five friends, left his camp in the night, and fled towards Mindu. This was no ſooner known, than the flight became general; the chiefs diſperſing themſelves, with their adherents. Humaioon, in the morning, ordered the purſuit to commence, which was continued, as far as Mindu, with great ſlaughter of the unfortunate wretches, who had neither the power to eſcape, nor the means to defend themſelves. Bahadur threw himſelf into Mindu, and the place was cloſely inveſted.

His army is routed, and he himſelf beſieged in Mindu.

Mindu taken by ſurprize.

In a few days, three hundred Moguls ſcaled the walls of Mindu, in the night; and though the garriſon conſiſted of many thouſands, ſuch was their panic, that they all betook themſelves to flight. Bahadur eſcaped to Chapanier, which was then the capital of Guzerat, while Sidder Chan, his Amir ul Omrah, who was dangerouſly wounded, not able to proceed farther, ſhut himſelf up in the fort of Sunkar, where, being beſieged, he capitulated the ſecond day, and was, on account of his excellent character, received into great favor. Sidder Chan, during the purſuit, ſaved Sultan Bahadur,

Bravery of Humaioon and Sidder Chan.

when

when almoſt taken by Humaioon, by throwing himſelf in between the kings, till his maſter had an opportunity of making his eſcape. Bnt he himſelf was attacked with ſuch violence by the king, in perſon, that, after receiving many wounds, he got off with great difficulty. A. D. 1534. Hig. 941.

Humaioon purſues Sultan Bahadur.

The king, three days after the taking of Mindu, renewed the purſuit after Sultan Bahadur, who, having taken all his treaſure and jewels out of Mahummud Abad and Chapanier, fled towards Amudabad. The king, giving up the city of Chapanier to plunder, and committing the ſiege of the citadel, which ſtill held out, to Dowlat Chaja Birlaſs, continued to purſue Bahadur. The unfortunate ſultan, hearing of his approach, fled to Cambait, but Humaioon purſuing him thither, he retired to the iſland of Deo, Humaioon arriving in Cumbait, the very evening of the ſame day in which Bahadur forſook it.

Returns to the ſiege of Chapanier.

Humaioon remained a few days in this place, but hearing that the ſultan's wealth was moſtly in the citadel of Chapanier, he returned to carry on that ſiege. Achtiar Chan, who commanded in the place, defended it with great bravery. But though he had ſome years proviſion in the fort, he was covetous of more, and took in daily ſupplies from a certain part of the citadel, which was covered by a thick wood.

His ſtratagem.

The king, one day, reconnoitring the place, obſerved the proceedings of Achtiar Chan, with regard to the proviſions. He immediately ſeized upon a party of country people who carried the ſupplies through the woods. He perſuaded, or rather commanded them, to carry him, in diſguiſe, to the place. They had admittance. The king made the neceſſary remarks, returned to his camp, and the ſame night ordered a parcel of iron ſpikes to be made.

A. D. 1535. Hig. 942.

By a gallant exploit, takes Chapanier.

He himſelf, with three hundred ſelect men, went to the place, while feigned attacks were made upon every other quarter of the fort. As the acceſs to this part of the fortreſs was extremely difficult, the attention of the enemy was entirely drawn towards the different aſſaults. This furniſhed the king with an opportunity of fixing his iron ſpikes in the wall, by which means thirty-nine officers mounted, and the king himſelf made the fortieth. Before ſun-riſe his whole detachment was within the walls, when he diſplayed a ſignal which had been previouſly ſettled with his troops. They accordingly made a violent aſſault upon all ſides, and Humaioon, in the mean time, at the head of his detachment, cried out, Alla Akbar! * and forcing his way, ſword in hand, through the enemy, poſſeſſed himſelf of one of the gates: he immediately opened it, and admitted his troops, and all, except Achtiar Chan and his family, who were in an outwork, were put to the ſword. The governor defended himſelf ſo bravely, that he obtained a capitulation.

Divides the ſpoil among his troops.

The great ſtrength of this place, the numerous garriſon, and the boldneſs of the attempt by which it fell, rendered this action of the king, equal, in the opinion of all mankind, to any thing of the like nature recorded in hiſtory. Here the treaſure of Guzerat, which had been collected in the courſe of many years, was diſtributed among the troops. He gave to the officers and ſoldiers what wealth could be heaped upon their reſpective ſhields, proportioning the value of the things to their rank and merit. All the wealth of Room, Chitta, and Frîng †, which had been there collected, to a vaſt amount, was delivered over to plunder.

Bahadur Sultan levies forces.

Sultan Bahadur having ſecured himſelf in Deo, ſent Amad ul Muluck Chirkuſs to Ahmedabad, to collect the revenues, and levy troops.

* That is, God is greateſt.

† The Turkiſh Empire, China, and Europe.

troops. He found himſelf ſoon at the head of fifty thouſand men, and was daily gaining ſtrength and reputation. Humaioon having intelligence of the tranſactions of Bahadur, appointed Tirdi Beg to command the fort of Chapanier, and the adjacent countries, and marched in perſon with his army towards Ahmedabad. Amad ul Muluck drew out his army to oppoſe him, and falling in with the vanguard of the imperialiſts, commanded by Mirza Aſhkari, he was defeated before the reſt of the army could be brought up to the engagement. A. D. 1535. Hig. 942. His army overthrown.

The king, for this ſignal ſervice, appointed Mirza Aſhkari governor of the ſplendid city of Ahmedabad. He divided then the provinces of Guzerat among his omrahs, and marched againſt Burhanpoor. Burhan Nizam Shaw, Amud ul Muluck, and the other princes of the Decan, apprehenſive of his deſigns to reduce Chandez, wrote to him letters of ſubmiſſion and allegiance. Humaioon reduces all Guzerat.

Theſe letters had ſcarce arrived, when the news of the inſurrection of Shere Chan came to the king. He, however, reduced all the countries about Burhanpoor, then marched round to Mindu. Amud ul Muluck, in the mean time, in conjunction with the omrahs of Guzerat, began again to acquire ſtrength, and marched, with an army, towards Ahmedabad. The inſurrection under Shere Chan.

Humaioon, in the mean time, inveſted Chinar, and reduced it, after a ſiege of ſix months. Having then gained the paſſes, he entered Bengal. Shere Chan, in the mean time, carried away the treaſure of the princes of Gour and Bengal, whom he had reduced, and fled to the mountains of Jarcund. The king continued his march to Gour, the capital of Bengal, took it, and commanded it to be called Ginnitabad *. Having reſided in that city for the ſpace of three months, he was obliged, on account of the moiſt air of that

* The paradiſial city.

A. D. 1539. Hig. 946. country, by which the greateſt part of his army fell ſick, as well as by the rebellion of Mirza Hindal at Agra, to return.

The brothers diſagree.

Mirza Hindal, the King's brother, was ſent to ſuppreſs Mahummud Sultan Mirza, who, we have already obſerved, had eſcaped to Kinnoge. But inſtead of performing that ſervice, he, as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf at the head of an army, began to aſpire to the throne. He accordingly marched back to Agra, where he diſcovered his treaſonable intentions, by putting ſome of the principal people, who rejected his authority, to death. He thus enforced obedience, and throwing away every diſguiſe, ordered the chutba to be read in his own name, and, with all the enſigns of royalty, marched to Delhi, and beſieged it.

The king, having heard of theſe proceedings, left Jehangire Beg and Ibrahim Beg to command in Bengal, and haſtened towards Agra. When he was about half way, Mahummud Zeman Mirza, who had formerly joined Sultan Bahadur, returned from Sind, and, being promiſed a pardon, joined the king with a conſiderable party. In the mean time, Shere Chan, finding the king's army ſo much weakened by ſickneſs and deſertion, and his affairs further perplexed by the rebellion of Mirza Hindal, marched with his troops from Rotas, and came behind the king on the Joſſa *. Both armies lay three months inactive, at a time when the king ought to have run all hazards, being every day inſulted, and more and more diſtreſſed by the enemy, who prevented his croſſing the river.

Mirza Camiran mounts the throne in Agra.

To add ſtill to Humaioon's misfortunes, his other brother, Mirza Camiran, inſtead of aſſiſting him, ungeneroufly aſpired to his throne, and marched, with ten thouſand horſe, from Lahore. When he arrived at Delhi, Mirza Hindal prevailed upon him, to join his forces with his own, after which they both continued the ſiege.

* Perhaps the Sone, or Carimnaſſa.

Fuchir

Fuchir ul Dien Alli, who commanded in the city, acquainted Mirza Camiran, that he could never think of betraying his truſt, and rather than be ſo ungrateful to his prince, he was determined to hold out to the laſt drop of his blood; but, that, if he would firſt poſſeſs himſelf of the capital of Agra, and entirely ſubdue his brother, he would then, and not till then, give up the city of Delhi. When Mirza Camiran and his brother found him ſo determined, and that the ſiege would coſt them much blood and time, they ſet out together for Agra. A. D. 1539. Hig. 946.

When they had reached the environs of that city, the jealouſy, which the brothers naturally entertained of each other, the eyes of both being turned towards the throne, broke out into open war. Mirza Hindal, being deſerted by many of his party, fled to Alwir, with five thouſand horſe, and three hundred elephants; and Mirza Camiran, entering Agra, aſſumed all the imperial enſigns.

Sultan Humaioon endeavored, by every poſſible argument with his brothers, to bring about a coalition of intereſts againſt Shere Chan, telling them, that their family quarrels would certainly, in the end, loſe them that mighty empire, which had coſt their father ſo much pains to conquer, and involve the family of Chigittai in one common ruin; that it was, therefore, adviſeable to join againſt the common enemy, and afterwards divide the empire amongſt themſelves. Theſe arguments had no weight with his brothers, who were ſo blinded by ambition, that they were determined rather to loſe all, than be contented with a part. They vainly hoping that after Shere Chan had defeated Sultan Humaioon, they ſhould be able to ſubdue Shere Chan; and each had the folly to ſuppoſe, that he ſhould be able to exclude the other, and ſo reign alone. Humaioon endeavors to bring over his brothers to his intereſt. They reject his propoſals.

At this juncture, Shere Chan ſent Shech Chelili, a derviſh of great reputation, to Sultan Humaioon, to treat about a peace, which Humaioon makes peace with Shere Chan.

A. D. 1539. Hig. 946. which the king accepted, with gladneſs, upon the following conditions: That Shere Chan ſhould content himſelf with Bengal and Behar, which he was to hold in the king's name, paying a ſmall acknowledgment.

Treachery of Shere Chan.

When the conditions were ſigned and ratified by mutual oaths, Humaioon, truſting too much to the faith of his enemy, permitted a free intercourſe between both armies. This was what the perfidious Shere Chan aimed at by the peace. He accordingly, next morning, ſurprized the ſultan's camp, before day-break, and totally defeated him. As the bridge of boats, which the ſultan had been preparing, was not finiſhed, there was no way of eſcape left, but by plunging into the river; all the boats being ſeized by a part of the enemy, who had turned the rear of the emperor's army. Humaioon, his nobles, and a great part of his army, were forced into the ſtream, where eight thouſand Moguls, excluſive of Hindoos, were drowned, among whom was Mahummud Ziman Mirza. This terrible overthrow happened to Humaioon in the year nine hundred and forty ſix.

Humaioon totally overthrown.

Eſcapes to Agra.

The king, by the aſſiſtance of a waterman, having with great difficulty ſwam acroſs the river, with a few who had ſurvived the ſlaughter of this dreadful day, fled to Agra. Mirza Camiran hearing of this defeat, haſtened from Agra to Alwir, to conſult with his brother, Mirza Hindal. Finding that now the Afghans were likely to prevail, they were aſhamed of their behavior to their brother, and, when it was too late, thought proper to ſupport him. In the mean time, all the Mogul omrahs who were diſperſed in the provinces, ſeeing that the power of their nation had ſuſtained ſuch a violent ſhock, found it alſo neceſſary to unite their ſtrength. They accordingly haſtened from all quarters to Agra; Jehangire Beg, and Ibrahim Beg, having left Bengal, and even Mahummud Sultan Mirza,

He is joined by his brothers.

Mirza, who had rebelled in Kinnoge, joined now in the general cauſe againſt the Afghans. A. D. 1540. Hig. 947.

Quarrels between the brothers.

The three brothers having met at Agra, held daily conſultations; but Mirza Camiran, who was not earneſt in reconciling their different intereſts, brought all their councils to nothing, and propoſed to return to Lahore, to which reſolution he was very much inſtigated by Chaja Callan Beg. Sultan Humaioon uſed every argument to prevent his departure; but the ambitious Camiran was determined to be every thing himſelf, or to give no aſſiſtance to his brother.

Mirza Camiran forſakes the king.

Theſe impolitic diſputes had laſted ſix months, when Mirza Camiran was ſeized with a falſe appetite, which he too much indulged, and conſequently became afflicted with a lientery, which he imputed to poiſon given him by his brothers. He immediately ſet out for Lahore, leaving a thouſand horſe with Secunder Sultan, under pretence of aſſiſting his unfortunate brother. The inhabitants of Agra were greatly diſcouraged at Camiran's departure, ſo that many of them, fearing the iſſue of the war, accompanied him. Mirza Hyder, diſguſted with this behavior, ſtaid behind, and joined Humaioon, to whom he was of great ſervice.

Shere Chan advances to the Gang.

Shere Chan, who had remained quiet during theſe diſputes, now advanced with an army to the banks of the Gang, and detaching his ſon Cuttub Chan over the river, poſſeſſed himſelf of the adjacent provinces.

The imperial generals defeat and ſlay CuttubChan.

Humaioon having received intelligence of theſe motions, ordered Caſſim Haſſein Sultan Uſbeck, in conjunction with Eadgar Mirza and Secunder Sultan, againſt him, with a great army. They met the enemy near Calpie, where an obſtinate engagement was fought, in which victory declaring for the Moguls, Cuttub Chan, with a great

A. D. 1540. Hig. 947. great part of his army, was cut off, and his head ſent to Agra. The generals, at the ſame time, invited the king to come and have the honor of conquering Shere Chan in perſon.

Humaioon marches againſt Shere Chan. Humaioon accordingly marched with a hundred thouſand horſe, and croſſing the Gang, near Kinnoge, ſat down for the ſpace of a month before the army of Shere Chan, which conſiſted of little more than half his number. In the mean time, Mahummud Sultan Mirza, and his ſons, who were remarkable for their treachery and ingratitude, fled to the enemy, with all their adherents, drawing many more after them, which again plunged the ſultan into diſtreſs; for his army being diſpirited, began to deſert by thouſands. To complete his misfortunes, the rainy ſeaſon now commenced, and his camp was quite overflowed with water, inſomuch that the tents ſeemed afloat. The king therefore reſolved to move his camp to higher ground.

Is deſerted by a great part of his army,

On the tenth of Mohirrim, nine hundred and forty ſeven, he put his army in motion. He was attacked by Shere Chan on his march, and defeated with great ſlaughter. Having unfortunately, as in the former action, the river then cloſe to his rear, the flight turned that way, and ſome thouſands, to avoid the ſwords of the enemy, choſe a more ignominious death in the water. A few only eſcaped with the king over the river, with whom he fled to Agra; the reſt ſubmitted themſelves to the conquerors, or diſperſed by various routs.

and overthrown.

Shere Chan advances to Agra. Shere Chan, immediately after this victory, advanced towards Agra. The king was forced to retreat to Lahore, and on the firſt of Rubbi ul Awil, of that year, joined the greateſt part of his Mogul omrahs, who had been diſperſed ſince the action. Shere Chan ſtill continuing the purſuit, to make the beſt uſe of his victory, croſſed the river of Jullanpoor, upon which the ſultan, upon the

Purſues the king,

firſt

first of Rigib, passed the river of Lahore, and retreated towards Tatta and Bicker. Mirza Camiran, now sensible of his ungenerous and impolitic behavior, was himself obliged to fly towards Cabul, and saw an empire wrested from his family, by the effects of that base envy, which could not behold even a brother's greatness without pain. A. D. 1541. Hig. 948. who takes the route of Tatta.

Humaioon having crossed the Sind, on his way to Bicker, halted at Lori, and sent an embassador, with a horse and dress to Mirza Shaw Hassein, governor of Tatta, to request his aid, that he might be able to possess himself of Guzerat. Mirza Shaw Hassein seeming to listen to his request, detained the king, by various artifices and excuses, for five months, by which means his small army, distressed for want of pay, daily diminished in numbers. Mirza Hindal, his brother, in the mean time, left him, and went to Candahar, being invited thither, by Kirrachi Chan, governor of that province. Mirza Eadgar Nasir proposed, at the same time, to quit Humaioon, but this unfortunate king, took great pains to keep him firm to his interest, giving him the government of Bicker. But he had no sooner taken possession of that place, than he began to strengthen himself, and to hatch treason. His embassy to the governor of Tatta. His brother Hindal deserts the king.

Humaioon, in the mean time, had, with his little army, laid siege to Sewan, for seven months, without effect, when Shaw Hassein, desirous of getting the place into his own hands, advanced, with a great force, from Tatta, and surrounding both the garrison and the besiegers, prevented supplies from being carried to either. Humaioon's army were soon greatly distressed, as well as the garrison. The king, driven to extremities, requested Mirza Eadgar to join him, with what forces he had in Bicker; but this ungrateful man chose rather to be prevailed upon to join Mirza Shaw Hassein, who promised him his daughter, and to secure him in his government. He immediately deserted the king's interest, at this dangerous crisis, and Humaioon was obliged to retreat precipitately from before Sewan, towards Bicker. Humaioon besieges Sewan. His great distress. He flies towards Bicker.

A. D. 1541. Hig. 948. He could not even obtain, in that place, a few boats, from his own perfidious ſubjects, to waft his ſmall army over the river. After a ſearch of ſome days, and wandering along the banks, he diſcovered ſome boats that had been ſunk, raiſed them, and tranſported his troops to the other ſide.

Eadgar Naſir ſubmitting, Notwithſtanding this accumulation of misfortunes, Humaioon had ſtrength enough left to ſtrike terror in Eadgar Naſir Mirza, who, to avoid his reſentment, came and made his ſubmiſſion. The neceſſity of the times obtained his pardon; but, in return for Humaioon's clemency, he began to raiſe ſedition among his troops, and privately to draw them over to his own intereſt. This treaſon being communicated to the king, the traitor, upon being taxed with it, appeared at the head of his troops, in open rebellion. But the principal officers of the rebellious faction refuſed to attack their king, ſo that an action was prevented, when both parties were formed in order of battle.

raiſes a ſedition.

Humaioon obliged to fly. The king being in no condition, at that juncture, to contend with the rebel, thought it high time to provide for his own ſafety elſewhere. He therefore marched, by the way of Jaſſelmere, to Raja Maldeo, then the moſt potent Hindoo prince in Hindoſtan, having before received an invitation from him. But as he was paſſing through the territories of Jaſſelmere, the raja of that country ſent a force to oppoſe him. The king defeated them, and paſſed on to the boundaries of Maldeo, where he halted, and ſent a meſſenger to the raja.

Raja Maldeo plots againſt him. But few keep faith with a king, when he is under the cloud of misfortunes. Maldeo, ſeeing he had nothing to fear from Humaioon, found in his own mind no principle to love him; he therefore reſolved, if poſſible, to ſeize the king, and ſend him to Shere Shaw. One of Maldeo's ſervants, who had formerly lived under Humaioon, having intelligence of this deſign, immediately informed the king.

Humaioon

A. D. 1541. Hig. 948.

Humaioon mounted his horſe, at midnight, and fled towards Amercot, which is about one hundred crores from Tatta. His horſe, on the way, falling down dead with fatigue, he deſired Tirdi Beg, who was well mounted, to let him have his; but ſo ungenerous was this man, and ſo low was royalty fallen, that he refuſed to comply with his requeſt. The troops of the raja being cloſe to his heels, he was neceſſitated to mount a camel, till one Nidim Koka, diſmounting his own mother, gave the king her horſe, and placing her on the camel, ran himſelf on foot by her ſide.

He flies.

His great diſtreſs.

The country, through which they fled, being an entire ſandy deſart, the troops began to be in the utmoſt diſtreſs for water. Some ran mad, others fell down dead; nothing was heard but dreadful ſcreams and lamentations. To add, if poſſible, to this calamity, news arrived of the enemy's near approach. Humaioon ordered all thoſe who could fight to halt, and let the women and baggage move forward. The enemy not making their appearance, the king rode on in front, to ſee how it fared with his family.

Calamitous ſituation of his retinue.

Gallant exploit of Shech Ali.

Night, in the mean time, coming on, the rear loſt their way, and in the morning were attacked by a party of the enemy. Shech Ali, with about twenty brave men, reſolved to ſell his life dear. Having repeated the creed of Martyrdom, he ruſhed upon the enemy, and the firſt arrow having reached the heart of the chief of the party, the reſt were, by the valor of this handful, put to flight. The other Moguls joined in the purſuit, and took many of their camels and horſes. They then continued their march, found the king ſitting by a well, which he had fortunately found, and gave him an account of their adventure.

The king's dreadful ſituation for want of water.

Marching forward, the next day, from this well, they were more diſtreſſed than before, there being no water for two days journey. On the fourth day of their retreat, they fell in with another well,

A. D. 1542. Hig. 949. which was ſo deep, that the only bucket they had, took a great deal of time in being wound up, and therefore a drum was beat to give notice to the caſilas when the bucket appeared, that they might repair by turns to drink. The people were ſo impatient for the water, that as ſoon as the firſt bucket appeared, ten or twelve of them threw themſelves upon it, before it quite reached the brim of the well, by which means the rope broke, and the bucket was loſt, and ſeveral fell headlong after it. When this fatal accident happened, the ſcreams and lamentations of all became loud and dreadful. Some lolling out their tongues, rolled themſelves, in agony, on the hot ſand; while others, precipitating themſelves into the well, met with an immediate, and conſequently an eaſier death. What did not the unhappy king feel, when he ſaw this terrible ſituation of his few faithful friends!

The next day, though they reached water, was not leſs fatal than the former. The camels, who had not taſted water for ſeveral days, now drank ſo much, that the greateſt part of them died. The people alſo, after drinking, complained of an oppreſſion of the heart, and in about half an hour a great part of them expired.

Arrives, and is humanely received at Amercot.

A few, with the king, after this unheard of diſtreſs, reached Amercot. The raja being a humane man, took compaſſion on their misfortunes. He ſpared nothing that could alleviate their miſeries, or expreſs his fidelity to the king.

Akbar born.

At Amercot, upon Sunday the fifth of Rigib, in the year nine hundred and forty nine, the prince Ackbar was brought forth, by Hamida Banu Begum. The king, after returning thanks to God, left his family under the protection of Raja Rana, and, by the aid of that prince, marched againſt Bicker. But a mutiny ariſing among the troops, they diſperſed, ſo that nothing could be effected. Some of the king's own omrahs deſerted him, and the gallant Shech Ali, one of his principal

Humaioon marches againſt Bicker,

principal adherents, was killed in an action in which Humaioon was defeated. The king fled towards Kandahar, and was, on his way, joined by Byram Chan, from Guzerat. Mirza Camiran had, at that time, taken the fortreſs of Kandahar from his brother, Mirza Hindal; and Mirza Aſhkari governed there by his appointment. Mirza Shaw Haſſein wrote to Mirza Aſhkari, that the king was in the utmoſt diſtreſs, and that if he would now favor him, ſo meritorious an action could not be forgot. Aſhkari, inſtead of liſtening to this requeſt, attacked the king when he approached, obliging him to leave behind him his ſon, and fly himſelf, with the Sultana Mariam Muckani, and only twenty-two horſe, to Chorraſſan. Mirza Aſhkari expreſſed great ſorrow at the king's eſcape, and plundering all his effects, carried the young prince Ackbar to Kandahar.

A. D. 1542. Hig. 949. is defeated, and flies towards Kandahar.

Is obliged to fly to Chorraſſan.

The king, by repeated trials, found that he could place no faith in his brothers. When he arrived upon the frontiers of Seiſtan, he was met by Ahmed Sultan Shamlu, who was there governor on the part of Shaw Tamaſp ul Huſſeini, of Iran. He brought Humaioon to Seiſtan, and treated him with the greateſt reſpect, preſenting him with all the money he was worth, and furniſhing the ſultana with ſlaves. The king received juſt what ſupplied his occaſions, and returned the reſt. He from thence ſet out for Hêrat, and was, in that city, met by Sultan Mahùmmud, the king of Perſia's eldeſt ſon. This prince forgot nothing of that generoſity and politeneſs which ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed his character. He provided the unfortunate exile very effectually with all neceſſaries for his journey to court. In his progreſs towards the capital of Iran, all the governors of the provinces and great men paid him their compliments, and made magnificent entertainments for him. When he arrived at Kizvi, he diſpatched Byram Chan to the Perſian king, at Iſpahan, and waited his anſwer. Let us now leave Humaioon, to give an account of the tranſactions in Hindoſtan, during his exile.

Is received kindly by the Perſian governor of Seiſtan,

and by the king of Perſia's ſon.

SECTION.

SECTION II.

History of SHERE SHAW, before his acceſſion to the imperial throne.

A. D. 1542. Hig. 949. Shere Shaw's family,

THE original name of Shere Shaw was Ferîd. His father was Haſſin, of the Soor tribe of the Afghans of Roh. When Sultan Beloli placed his foot on the muſnud of empire, the grandfather of Shere Shaw, Ibrahim Soor, came to Delhi in queſt of military ſervice.

of the Afghans of Roh.

The original ſeat of the Afghans was Roh. This word, in their language, ſignifies a mountainous country. It extended, they ſay, in length, from Sewad and Bijore, to the town of Sui in the dominions of Buckuraſt, and in breadth, from Huſſin Abdal to Rabul. This tract, in its fertile vallies, contained many ſeparate tribes; among the number of theſe was that of Soor, who derive themſelves from the princes of Ghor. One of the ſons of the Ghorian family, whoſe name was Mahummud Soor, having left his native country, placed himſelf among the Afghans of Roh, and was the father of the tribe of Soor, which was eſteemed the nobleſt among them.

Ibrahim Soor arrives at Delhi,

Ibrahim Soor, arriving at Delhi, engaged himſelf in the ſervice of an omrah of the court of Beloli. When the empire fell to Secunder, Jemmal Chan an omrah was appointed ſuba of Jionpoor, who took Haſſen, the ſon of Ibrahim, in his retinue. He found him a youth of parts, and favored him ſo much, that, in a ſhort time, he gave him the pergunnahs of Sehſarâm and Chawaſſpoor Tanda, in jagier, for which he was to maintain five hundred horſe. Haſſen had eight ſons; Ferîd and Nizâm of one mother, of a Patan family; the other ſons were born of ſlaves.

his ſon Haſſin obtains a jagier.

Haſſen

A. D. 1542. Hig. 949.

Haſſen had no great love for his wife, and he therefore neglected her ſons. Ferîd, upon this, left his father's houſe, and enliſted himſelf a ſoldier in the ſervice of Jemmal Chan. Haſſen wrote to Jemmal Chan * upon this occaſion, requeſting him to ſend back his ſon, that he might be educated. But all that Jemmal Chan could ſay had no effect upon Ferîd. Jionpoor, he ſaid, was a better place for inſtruction than Sehſaram; and he affirmed that he would attend to letters of his own accord. This he did to ſo much purpoſe, that he ſoon could repeat the works of Shech Sadi, and was, beſides, a proficient in all the learning of the country. He, however, employed moſt of his time in hiſtory and poetry, being ſupported by the liberality of Jemmal Chan.

Ferîd flies from his father's houſe.

Applies himſelf to letters.

After three or four years had paſſed, Haſſen came to Jionpoor, and, by the mediation of friends, the father and ſon were reconciled. Haſſen gave Ferîd the charge of his jagier, and remained himſelf at Jionpoor. Ferîd, when he took leave of his father, ſaid, "That the ſtability of government depended on juſtice, and that it "would be his greateſt care not to violate it, either by oppreſſing "the weak, or permitting the ſtrong to infringe the laws with im-"punity." When he arrived at his jagier, he actually put this reſolution in practice, by rendering juſtice to the poor, and reducing to order ſuch of his zemindars as oppoſed his authority. He, by this means, had his revenues punctually paid, and his country well cultivated. His reputation grew apace; for all his actions diſcovered uncommon genius and reſolution.

Is reconciled with his father,

Haſſin coming to viſit the pergunnahs, was extremely pleaſed with the management of his ſon, and therefore continued him in his office. But the father had a ſlave by whom he had three ſons, Soliman, Ahmed, and Mudda, and the old man was extremely fond of her. She told him, that now her ſon Soliman was grown up,

who is pleaſed with his behavior.

* Suba of Jionpoor.

and

A. D. 1542. Hig. 949. and that he ought to provide for him. She, day after day, continued to teaze Haſſin for the ſuperintendency of the pergunnahs for Soliman. This gave the old omrah great concern, knowing the ſuperior abilities of Ferîd. The ſon, hearing that the domeſtic peace of his father was deſtroyed, by the importunities of his favorite, made a voluntary reſignation of his truſt, which was accordingly conferred upon Soliman.

He reſigns the management of the jagier.

Goes to Agra.

Ferîd, and his brother Nizam, ſet out immediately for Agra, and entered into the ſervice of Dowlat Chan, one of the principal omrahs of Sultan Ibrahim. Ferîd, by his good behavior, ſoon inſinuated himſelf into his maſter's affection. Dowlat deſired him, one day, to tell him what he was moſt deſirous to obtain, and that he would uſe his intereſt with the ſultan in his favor. Ferîd replied, That his father was now in his dotage, and wholly guided by an artful miſtreſs, who had deprived both himſelf and his brother of their patrimonial inheritance, and had procured their jagier for her own ſpurious offspring. That if Dowlat would, therefore, by his intereſt at court, procure the jagier-ſonnad in his name, he would promiſe to provide for his father, and maintain five hundred good horſe for the ſervice of the empire.

The emperor refuſes to grant him his father's jagier,

Dowlat Chan accordingly preferred this requeſt to the ſultan, who replied, That he muſt be a bad man indeed, who reviled and undermined his own father. Dowlat Chan retired in ſilence, and acquainted him of the anſwer he had received, but comforted Ferîd, by telling him that he would take another opportunity to urge his requeſt. In the mean time, the father of Ferîd died, and Dowlat Chan obtained the emperor's grant, with which the two brothers ſet out to Sehſaram with a grand retinue.

which, upon his father's death, he obtains.

Soliman, upon the arrival of his brothers, evacuating the country, went off to Mahummud Chan Soor, who held the purgunnah of Chond,

Chond, and kept up a force of fifteen hundred horſe, and complained of the behavior of Ferîd. Mahummud Chan told him, that Babor, having invaded Hindoſtan, a war between him and Sultan Ibrahim was unavoidable. That, therefore, if he ſhould accompany him when called to the imperial army, he would endeavor to get him redreſs. Soliman was too impatient to wait ſo long in ſuſpence. Mahummud Chan, therefore, ſent a perſon to Ferîd, to treat about a reconciliation. Ferîd replied, That he was willing to give him a proper ſhare of his father's inheritance, but that he muſt be excuſed from parting with any of his power; repeating, at the ſame time, the old adage, That two ſwords could never reſt in one ſcabbard.

A. D. 1542. Hig. 949. His brother Soliman complains of him to Mahummud Soor;

Soliman could not be ſatisfied with ſharing the government, and therefore nothing was ſettled between the brothers. This irritated Mahummud Chan ſo much, that he reſolved to compel him to the meaſures which he himſelf had propoſed. Ferîd being informed of this reſolution, began to provide for his own ſecurity; but news arriving of Sultan Ibrahim's death, the whole country was thrown into confuſion. Ferîd reſolved not to lie idle in the midſt of the troubles which enſued. He joined Pâr Chan, the ſon of Diria Chan Lohani, who had ſubdued Behar, and aſſumed the royal dignity, under the name of Sultan Mahummud, or Mahmood. As the ſultan was one day on a hunting party, he rouſed an enormous tiger; which Ferîd immediately attacked and killed with one blow of his ſabre. For this bold action, which was done in the ſultan's preſence, he was honored with the title of Shere Chan *.

who forms deſigns againſt him.

Ferîd obtains the title of Shere Chan.

Shere Chan roſe gradually to great influence and favor, in the ſultan's ſervice. He was even appointed tutor to the ſultan's ſon, Jellal Chan. He, in the mean time, requeſted permiſſion to go to his jagier, but he was detained there by buſineſs, till his leave of abſence

* Shere ſignifies a lion.

A. D. 1542. Hig. 949. fence expired. Sultan Mahummud, diſſatisfied with this behavior, reproached him, one day in public, with breach of promiſe; and

He is accuſed to Sultan Mahmood. Mahummud Chan, an omrah, being preſent, took that opportunity of accuſing him of treaſonable deſigns, and with favoring the intereſt of Sultan Mamood, the ſon of Sultan Secunder. The ſultan was, by this means, ſo incenſed againſt him, that he intimated, at the ſame time, a deſign to deprive him of his jagier, and to confer it upon his brother Soliman, as a juſt puniſhment for his offence, and the only thing that could bring him to a proper ſenſe of his duty.

Proceedings againſt him. The ſultan, however, having a great eſteem for Shere Chan, againſt whom nothing was yet proved, laid aſide the violent meaſure to which he was inſtigated by Mahummud. He, at the ſame time, by way of alarming him, gave orders to his accuſer to enquire into his father's eſtate, and make an equal diviſion of it among all the brothers. Mahummud Chan, glad of this order, ſent one of his ſervants to Shere Chan to acquaint him, that his brothers, according to the ſultan's commands, were to have their proportionable dividends of the eſtate which he had hitherto ſo unjuſtly with-held from them.

The nature of tenures in Hindoſtan. Shere Chan returned for anſwer, that Mahummud was very much miſtaken in this matter. That there were no heritable eſtates in Hindoſtan, among Mahomedans, for that all lands belonged to the king, which he diſpoſed of at pleaſure. That as he himſelf had a perſonal grant of his jagier, his brethren were entirely out of the queſtion. That he, however, had already conſented to give to his brother Soliman a part of the money and moveables, according to law.

Shere Chan attacked. When the meſſenger returned with this anſwer to Mahummud Chan, who was then at Jiond, he was enraged at ſo flat a denial, and raiſing all his forces, ſent them againſt Shere Chan, under the command of Shadi, his adopted ſlave, accompanied by Soliman and Ahmed.

Ahmed. His orders were to take poſſeſſion of the country, and to leave a force with Soliman, to protect him in the jagier. A. D. 1543. Hig. 949.

This reſolution being quickly taken, Shere Chan had not time to collect his people; but, upon the firſt alarm, he wrote to Malleck Sook, his deputy in the pergunnah of Chawaſspoor Tandah, to harraſs the enemy with what troops he had, but to avoid an action till he joined him in perſon. But Malleck Sook, deſirous to diſtinguiſh himſelf, gave them battle, and loſt his life and the victory. who determines to oppoſe him.

This diſaſter weakened Shere Chan ſo much, that he was in no condition to oppoſe Mahummud; he therefore evacuated the country, and fled to Juneid Birlaſs, ſuba of Kurrah and Maneckpoor, on the part of Sultan Baber. He made the ſuba a handſome preſent, was taken into favor, and obtained a body of troops to recover his country. With theſe he defeated Mahummud, who fled to the mountains of Rhotas, ſo that he not only poſſeſſed himſelf of his own country, but added ſeveral other pergunnahs to his jagier, which he now held of Sultan Baber. Having rewarded the Moguls who had aſſiſted him, he permitted them to return to their maſter. He, at the ſame time, levied troops, and was joined by his former friends, who had fled to the hills, which rendered him very formidable in thoſe parts. He flies to Kurrah. Returns and defeats Mahummud.

Shere Chan having thus eſtabliſhed himſelf in his jagier, performed an act of generoſity, which, if it was not intended to deceive the world, does him much honor. He recalled Mahummud Chan, who had fled, and put him in poſſeſſion of his former jagier. This generous treatment converted his greateſt enemy into one of his beſt friends. His generoſity to him.

Shere having ſettled his affairs, left his brother Nizam in charge of his country, and paid a viſit to his benefactor Juneid Birlaſs, at

A. D. 1542. Hig. 949. Goes to Agra.

Kurrah. Birlaſs was then going to Agra, and Shere reſolved to accompany him thither. He was, upon this occaſion, introduced to Sultan Baber, and attended that prince in his expedition to Chinderi.

His opinion concerning the Moguls.

After Shere had ſtaid ſome time in the Mogul camp, and obſerved their manners and policy, he, one day, told a friend, that he thought it would be an eaſy matter to drive thoſe foreigners out of Hindoſtan. His friend aſked him, what reaſon he had to think ſo? Shere replied, "That the king himſelf, though a man of great parts, was "but very little acquainted with the policy of Hindoſtan; and that "the vizier, who held the reins of government, would be too much "biaſſed in favor of his own intereſt, to mind that of the public. "That therefore if the Patans, who were now at enmity among "themſelves, could be brought to mutual concord, the work was "compleated; and ſhould fortune ever favor him, he imagined him-"ſelf equal to the taſk, however difficult it might, at preſent, ap-"pear." His friend burſt out into a loud laugh, and began to ridicule this vain opinion.

His behavior at the King's table occaſions a reflection of Baber.

Shere, a few days after, had, at the king's table, ſome ſolid diſhes ſet before him, with only a ſpoon to eat them. He called for a knife, but the ſervants had orders not to ſupply him with one. Shere, not to loſe his dinner, drew his dagger, without ceremony, and cutting up his meat, made a hearty meal, without minding thoſe who diverted themſelves at this odd behavior. When he had done, the king, who had been remarking his manner, turned to Amir Chalifa, and ſaid, "This Afghan is not to be diſconcerted by "trifles, and is likely to be a great man."

He privately withdraws.

Shere Chan perceiving, by theſe words, that the king had been informed of his private diſcourſe to his friend, fled the camp that night, and went to his own jagier. He wrote from thence to Juneid Birlaſs, that as Mahummud Chan had prevailed on Sultan Mahmood

Mahmood Chan, of Behar, to ſend troops againſt his jagier, he had in haſte left the king's camp, without waiting upon him for leave. He, by this means, amuſed Juneid Birlaſs from chaſtiſing him, and at the ſame time made up matters with Sultan Mahmood, with whom he became a greater favorite than before. A. D. 1542. Hig. 949. Is reconciled with Sultan Mahmood of Behar,

Sultan Mahmood dying a ſhort time after, was ſucceeded by his ſon Jellal Chan, a minor. The young prince's mother, Sultana Dudu, acted as regent, and conferred the principal offices in the government upon Shere Chan. The ſultana dying ſoon after, the adminiſtration fell wholly into his hands. who dies. Shere Chan manages the government.

Muchdum Allum, the governor of Hadgeepoor, on the part of Sultan Mahmood, of Bengal, being guilty of ſome miſdemeanor, threw himſelf under Shere Chan's protection. Sultan Mahmood, to revenge this inſult, ordered Cuttub Chan, governor of Mongier, with a great force, againſt Behar. As the forces of Behar were inconſiderable, in compariſon of thoſe of Bengal, Shere Chan made many overtures for accommodating differences, but to no effect. Finding no arguments could prevail but the ſword, he reſolved to ſtand the unequal encounter, in which his ſuperior ſkill and bravery acquired him a complete victory. Cuttub Chan was ſlain, and all his treaſure, elephants, and camp equipage taken, which greatly advanced the deſigns of Shere Chan. Overthrows the army of Bengal.

After this victory, the Patan tribe of Lohani, envying the fortune of Shere, formed a conſpiracy, to take away his life. Shere diſcovered the plot, taxed Jellal Chan with it, who was privy to the conſpiracy, being very jealous of the great influence of his miniſter. He told, on this occaſion, to the young prince, that there was no neceſſity of taking ſuch a baſe method of getting quit of him, for that if he ſhould but once ſignify his inclination, Shere was ready to reſign that government, which he lately ſo ſucceſsfully protected. The prince, A plot againſt his life. He offers to reſign.

either

A. D. 1542. Hig. 949. either ſuſpecting his ſincerity, or being equally ſuſpicious of the other omrahs, would, by no means, conſent to his reſignation. This ſo much diſguſted the conſpirators, that they took every poſſible meaſure to make a breach between the prince and his miniſter.

Shere obliges his maſter, the Sultan of Behar, to fly.

Shere, finding that he had no ſecurity, but in maintaining his power, by the unlimited uſe he made of it, juſtly excited the prince's jealouſy to ſuch a pitch, that, one night, accompanied by his omrahs, he fled to Sultan Mahmood, of Bengal, and implored his aid to expel Shere Chan, who had uſurped his throne.

Mahmood of Bengal aſſiſts him with an army,

Sultan Mahmood, joining his compaſſion for the young prince, to his perſonal hatred for Shere, ſent Ibrahim Chan, the ſon of Cuttub Chan, with a conſiderable army againſt the uſurper. The Bengalians beſieged Shere in a mud fort, for a long time, without ſucceſs; ſo that Ibrahim was obliged to ſend home for ſuccours. Shere Chan, being informed of this circumſtance, came out, offered battle, and, by means of a common ſtratagem, ordering his troops to fly at the firſt onſet, to draw the enemy into an ambuſh, defeated them, and took all their guns and elephants. Ibrahim Chan was ſlain in the action, and the young prince fled in great diſtreſs to Bengal.

which is overthrown by Shere.

All Behar ſubmits to him.

Shere, by this victory, became lord of all Behar, and grew daily more and more formidable. Taje Chan was, at this time, governor of the ſtrong fort of Chinâr, which he had held for himſelf ever ſince the death of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. His wife Lade Mallecke, who was barren, yet for whom he had a very great affection, being envied by his other wives, by whom he had children, they inſtigated their ſons to make away with her. But one of the ſons, who had undertaken the murder, miſſed his blow, and only inflicted a ſlight wound. Taje Chan, alarmed by her cries, came to her aſſiſtance, and drew his ſword to kill his ſon. The ſon, ſeeing no means to eſcape, aſſaulted his father, and ſlew him. The ſons of Taje Chan were yet

too young to be entruſted with the government, and Lade Mallecke drew the reins into her own hands, by her addreſs among the chiefs and zemindars. Shere Chan, informed of theſe tranſactions, ſet a treaty of marriage on foot with Lade Mallecke, which was ſoon concluded. Shere ſeized upon Chinâr and the dependant diſtricts, which was a great acquiſition to his power, there being a conſiderable treaſure in the place.

A. D. 1542. Hig. 949.

Shere Chan, by marriage, obtains the poſſeſſion of Chinâr.

Much about this time, Sultan Mahmood, the ſon of Sultan Secunder Lodi, having taken protection with Rana Sinka, by his aſſiſtance, and that of Haſſen Chan Mewati, advanced againſt Sultan Baber, and were defeated, as we have already ſeen, at Janveh. Sultan Mahmood, flying to Chitor, was from thence invited by the omrahs of Lodi, who were gathered together at Patna, and by them proclaimed king. He made himſelf ſoon maſter of all Behar. Shere Chan perceiving that he could not draw the omrahs over from the ſultan's intereſt, and that he had not ſufficient force to oppoſe him, ſubmitted to his authority, and, by that means, ſaved a part of Behar, which the ſultan permitted him to retain. The ſultan told him, at the ſame time, that if he ſhould effectually aſſiſt him in recovering Jionpoor from the Moguls, he would return Behar to him; and a contract to that effect was drawn up and executed between them.

Sultan Mahmood Lodi poſſeſſes himſelf of Behar.

Shere Chan, ſome time after, obtained leave to return to Sheſſaram, to levy troops, and Sultan Mahmood marching, with an army, againſt the Moguls, ſent him orders to join. But as Shere delayed for ſome time, the ſultan, perſuaded by his omrahs that he was playing a looſe game, marched his army through his jagier on his way to Jionpoor. Shere came out to meet him, had an elegant entertainment provided for his reception, and then marched with him to Jionpoor. The troops of Humaioon evacuated the province upon their approach, ſo that the Afghans took poſſeſſion of the country as far as Lucknore.

Shere Chan obtains leave to viſit his jagier.

Humaioon

A. D. 1542. Hig. 949.

Humaioon lay, at this time, before Callinger, and having heard of the progreſs of the Afghans, he marched againſt them. Mahmood having, on this occaſion, given a ſuperior command to Bein Baezîd, Shere Chan, who thought himſelf ill-uſed, betrayed his maſter, and wrote a private letter, the night before the action, to Hindoo Beg, one of the Mogul generals, acquainting him, "That "he eſteemed himſelf a ſervant of Baber's family, to whom he owed "his advancement, and that he would be the cauſe of defeating the "Afghans next day." He drew off his troops in the action, which occaſioned Mahmood's defeat, for which ſervice he was greatly favored by Humaioon. Sultan Mahmood, after this defeat, retreated to Patna, retired from the world, and, in the year nine hundred and forty nine, died in Oriſſa.

He betrays Sultan Mahmood Lodi.

Humaioon, after his victory, returned to Agra, and ſent Amir Hindoo Beg to Shere Chan, to take poſſeſſion of the fort of Chinâr. Shere excuſed himſelf, and obliged Hindoo Beg to retreat. Humaioon returned immediately with his whole army to beſiege Chinâr, and, having inveſted it, he received a letter from Shere Chan, acquainting him, "That he eſteemed himſelf one of the ſervants of the "houſe of Baber, from whom he firſt obtained a government; and "that he had expreſſed his fidelity, by being the occaſion of the "late victory. That, therefore, if the king would permit him to "retain the government of the fort, he was willing to pay him the "proper revenues of the lands which he held, and would ſend his "ſon, Cuttub Chan, with five hundred horſe, to be maintained at "his own expence, in the ſultan's ſervice."

Refuſes to give up Chinâr to Humaioon.

Propoſes terms to Humaioon,

As at this juncture the affairs of Guzerat, by the conqueſts of Sultan Bahadur, required the king's preſence, and conſidering alſo the ſtrength of Chinâr, Humaioon conſented to theſe terms, and, accordingly, being joined by Cuttub Chan and Iſey Chan Hajbil, with five hundred horſe, he marched towards Sultan Bahadur. The king, however,

which are accepted.

however, had ſcarcely reached Guzerat, when Cuttub Chan deſerted with his horſe, and returned to his father. Shere immediately raiſed what forces he could, and reduced Behar. Not ſatisfied with this ſucceſs, he purſued his fortune, and penetrated into the heart of Bengal, having fought with the omrahs of that country ſeveral ſharp battles, before he could make himſelf maſter of the paſſes, which were defended a whole month. A. D. 1542. Hig. 949. Shere reduces Behar, and enters Bengal.

Sultan Mahmood of Bengal ſhut himſelf up in Gour, which Shere Chan for a long time beſieged. One of the zemindars of Behar having raiſed a diſturbance, he left Chawaſs Chan to carry on the ſiege, and returned himſelf to Behar. Proviſions becoming at length very ſcarce in Gour, Sultan Mahmood fled in a boat to Hadjepoor; and Shere Chan, having ſettled affairs in Behar, returned and purſued him. Mahmood being neceſſitated to give battle, was defeated, and being wounded in the engagement, fled his kingdom, which immediately fell into the hands of the conqueror. Beſieges Sultan Mahmood Lodi, in Gour. Overthrows Mahmood.

Humaioon, returning from his expedition to Guzerat, thought it neceſſary to put a ſtop to the riſing power of Shere Chan. He for that purpoſe turned towards the reduction of Chinâr. Jellal Chan, who commanded there, left the defence of the place to Ghazi Soor, and retired to the hills of Bercundah, from whence he very much annoyed the beſiegers. The ſiege had been carried on ſix months, when Rumi Chan, who commanded the king's artillery, by ſome kind of a floating battery, which he ſent down the river cloſe to the wall, reduced the place. Humaioon turns his arms againſt him. Takes Chinâr.

Humaioon left two hundred ſoldiers in garriſon there, and marched towards Bengal. Sultan Mahmood, who, as we have already obſerved, was wounded in the action with Shere Chan, threw himſelf under the protection of Humaioon. When the king had advanced to Gurhi, which is the frontier of Bengal, he found that Shere Chan had Marches towards Bengal,

A. D. 1542. Hig. 949. sent Jellal Chan, Chawaſs Chan, and a good detachment, to guard that paſs. The king ſent Jehangire Kulli Beg, and ſome other omrahs, to diſlodge them; but they were repulſed in ſeveral attacks. Being, however, ſupported by more troops, and the whole army appearing in ſight, a ſucceſsful aſſault was made, and the Moguls became maſters of the paſs. Jellal Chan fled to his father Shere Chan at Gour, who, being in no condition to engage ſo ſuperior a force, evacuated that capital, carried off all his wealth to the mountains of Jarcund, and begun to project a ſcheme for poſſeſſing himſelf of Rhotas, that he might there lodge his family and wealth in ſecurity.

forces the paſſes.

Drives Shere Chan to the mountains of Jarchund.

Shere Chan, by a ſtratagem, takes the impregnable fortreſs of Rhotas.

To take Rhotas by open force was an impoſſible attempt. It was therefore neceſſary to deviſe ſome ſtratagem, by which ſucceſs might be hoped. Shere, for this purpoſe, ſent a meſſage to Raja Berkiſs, who was in poſſeſſion of this impregnable fortreſs, and told him, "That as he himſelf was going to attempt the recovery of Bengal, he hoped, from their former friendſhip, that he would permit him to ſend his family and treaſure into the place, with a few attendants." The raja at firſt rejected this requeſt, but Shere Chan ſent an artful embaſſador to the raja, a ſecond time, with ſome handſome preſents, acquainting him, "That it was only for his women and treaſure he requeſted the raja's protection: That ſhould he be fortunate enough to conquer Bengal, he would make proper acknowledgments for the favor on his return; but if he ſhould loſe his life in the conteſt, he rather choſe that his family and wealth ſhould fall into his hands, than into thoſe of the Moguls, his inveterate enemies."

The raja, permitting himſelf to be deluded by his avarice, determined, when once in poſſeſſion of the treaſure, to keep it, and therefore conſented to Shere's requeſt. Shere Chan having provided covered doolies *, filled them all, except two or three, which were to go firſt, with armed men and arms. He, at the

* The ſame with ſedan chairs.

ſame

ſame time, filled five hundred money bags with ball, and appointed ſome of his beſt ſoldiers to carry them, in the diſguiſe of ſlaves, with ſticks in their hands, to help the treaſure up the mountain. The men, who carried the doolies, were diſguiſed in the ſame manner. This train accordingly ſet out, and the firſt and ſecond dooly being examined at the gate, were found to contain only old women, ſo further examination was neglected. The raja was, in the mean time, buſy in counting the bags, which he now reckoned part of his own fortune. When the doolies had reached the houſe which the raja had appointed, the wolves ruſhed out among the ſheep, and begun to dye the fold with their blood. The porters uſed their ſtaves, till they ſupplied themſelves with arms from the doolies. They eaſily maſtered the garriſon, who were off their guard, and admitted Shere Chan, who was encamped at a ſmall diſtance. The raja himſelf, with a few followers, found means to eſcape into the woods, by a private paſſage behind the fort. A. D. 1542. Hig. 949.

Thus fell one of the moſt impregnable fortreſſes in the world into the hands of Shere Chan, together with much treaſure, which had been accumulating there for ages. The merit of the invention of this ſtratagem is not due to Shere. The fort of Aſere, in the Decan, was, long before, taken in the ſame manner by Naſir Chan Faroki, governor of Chandez.

Rhotas is built upon the level top of a mountain; the only entrance to it is a very narrow road, through a ſteep aſcent of one crore, from the foot of the hill to the gates, which are three in number, one above another, defended by guns and rolling-ſtones. The ſquare contents of the fortified table land, on the top of the mountain, is more than five crores. In this ſpace are contained towns, villages, and corn fields, and water is found a few feet from the ſurface. On one ſide runs the river Sone, under an immenſe precipice, and another river, in the ſame manner, paſſes cloſe to the Deſcription of Rhotas.

A. D. 1541. Hig. 948.

other ſide, and both meeting a little below, form the hill into a triangular peninſula. There is a very deep valley on the third ſide, full of impervious woods, which ſpread all over the mountains, and render all acceſs that way next to impoſſible.

Shere Chan had now a ſecure retreat for his family, and his friends began to acquire freſh ſpirits by this piece of ſucceſs. Humaioon, in the mean time, ſpent three months in luxurious pleaſures, at Gour, or Lucknouti. He there received advices that Mirza Hindal, his brother, had revolted in Agra and Mewat; that he had put Shech Phoul to death, and coined money in his own name. He therefore left Jehangire Kulli Beg, with five thouſand horſe, in Gour, and returned towards Agra.

Humaioon marches back towards Agra.

By the exceſſive rains and bad roads, the king's cavalry and beaſts of burthen periſhed in great numbers, on his march, by fatigue and want of forage. Shere Chan, who had now raiſed a numerous army, entrenched himſelf on the banks of the Joſſa, in a place by which the king muſt of neceſſity paſs, and, by treachery, defeated him with great ſlaughter, in the manner which we have already related. Shere did not immediately puſh forward to the capital. Anxious to leave no enemy behind him, he returned to Bengal, engaged Jehangire Kulli Beg in ſeveral battles, defeated him, and, at length, cut him and his army to pieces.

Is totally overthrown by Shere Chan.

SECTION III.

The hiſtory of the reign of SHERE SHAW, the Aſghan.

Shere Shaw aſſumes the imperial title.

SHERE SHAW, immediately after the reduction of Bengal, aſſumed the imperial title, ſtruck the coin, and read the chutba, in his own name. He marched, the next year, with a great army, towards Agra. The unfortunate Humaioon was, by this time, deſerted by

by his brother Mirza Camiran, and hated by his Mogul omrahs, on account of his attention to his Turkuman mercenaries. He, however, croſſed the river with one hundred thouſand horſe, and met Shere Chan, who had but fifty thouſand. Shere, as we have already mentioned, defeated Humaioon, and purſued him to Agra, Lahore, and Choſhâb; from which place the king retreated towards Sind. A. D. 1542. Hig. 949.

Iſmaiel Chan, Ghazi Chan, Fatti Chan, and Billoche Dudai, all omrahs of that country, joined Shere Shaw. The ſultan, obſerving a hill, among the mountains of Balnat, proper for a fortreſs, ordered one to be built, which he named Rhotas. Chawaſs Chan, his faithful ſlave, to whoſe bravery and conduct he owned himſelf greatly indebted for his fortune, was now made Amir ul Omrah, with a penſion of a tenth of the royal revenue. Makes Chawas Chan captain general.

Having left the Amir ul Omrah, and Hybut Chan Neazi, with a great army, in the north weſt, Shere Shaw returned towards Agra. He was in that city informed, that Chizer Chan Sirik, whom he left ſuba of Bengal, had married the daughter of Mahmood, the former ſultan of that province, and held the ſtate of a ſovereign prince. Having experienced, in his own fortune, the danger of permitting ſuch behavior to go unpuniſhed, he marched immediately to Bengal. Chizer Chan being unexpectedly ſurprized, ſubmitted without trouble, and was impriſoned. Shere Shaw very prudently divided the kingdom of Bengal among a number of omrahs, independent of one another, and appointed Kaſi Fazilit, a native of Kurrah, famous for his learning and policy, to ſuperintend the whole. He himſelf, after theſe tranſactions, retired to Agra. Reduces the ſuba of Bengal.

In the year nine hundred and forty nine, Shere made a motion towards Malava. Having advanced as far as Gualier, Suja Chan Afghan, who had before inveſted the place, on the part of Shere Shaw, found means to ſettle matters with Abul Caſim Beg, governor of Gualier

A. D. 1543. Hig. 950. Takes Gualier.

Gualier for Humaioon, and he delivered up that ſtrong fortreſs into his hands.

Reduces Malava.

Shere Shaw having entered Malava, Mullu Chan, governor of that province, ſubmitted without a blow. Being, however, a few days after, alarmed by ſomething, he fled from the king's camp, and Hadjee Chan was appointed to that government; Suja Chan had alſo a jagier conferred upon him in that country. Shere Shaw having marched from thence to Rintimpore, Mullee Chan fell upon the governor of Malava, and upon Suja Chan, but he was defeated. Suja Chan having acquired all the honor of the victory, Hadjee Chan was ſuperſeded and recalled, and the government conferred upon Suja.

Takes Rintimpore.

Shere Shaw arriving before Rintimpore, had the addreſs to get poſſeſſion of that important fortreſs, from the governor, on the part of Sultan Mahmood Lodi, who had ſtill kept it. The emperor, after taking Rintimpore, returned to Agra. He remained in that city a whole year, ſettling the internal police of the empire, and regulating his army. He, in the mean time, ordered Hybut Chan to wreſt Moultan from the Bellochies. This Hybut ſoon effected by defeating Fatti Chan Bellochi, and entirely ſubduing that country. He had, on account of this exploit, the title of Azim Humaioon conferred upon him.

He marches againſt Raja Paran, for keeping two thouſand concubines.

In the year nine hundred and fifty, Paran Mull, the ſon of Raja Suckdeo Parbia, having conquered ſome neighbouring pergunnahs, kept no leſs than two thouſand concubines and dancing girls in his zinnana. The king, reſenting this indignity, marched and inveſted him in the fort of Raiſein. The ſiege being protracted for a long time, Paran Mull began to treat of a capitulation. This was granted to him upon the honorable terms of marching out, with all his arms, treaſure, family, garriſon, and effects. Paran accordingly marched out with four thouſand rajaputs, and, truſting to the faith which had been pledged, encamped at a ſmall diſtance.

But

But Shere Shaw, who never kept the faith of treaties, was eaſily perſuaded, by his baſe miniſters, particularly by Amir Ruffi ul Dien Suffvi, infamouſly to violate his honor. He ſurrounded the rajaputs, and ordered them all to be maſſacred. He, however, paid very dear for this horrid piece of cruelty and treachery. The rajaputs, placing death in one eye and revenge in the other, fought till every man of them was laid dead on the plain, and above double their number of the aſſaſſins. A. D. 1543. Hig. 950. His treachery and cruelty.

Shere Shaw, after this infamous tranſaction, returned to Agra. Having remained there a few months, to refreſh and recruit his army, he marched towards Marwâr. During his march he intrenched himſelf every night, as well for ſecurity, as to exerciſe his troops, and make them expert in this neceſſary ſervice. When he came to croſs the ſands, he formed redoubts all round him with gabions. In this manner he entered the country of the raja of Nagor and Todpoor, whoſe name was Maldeo, and eſteemed the moſt powerful raja in Hindoſtan. He oppoſed the king, with fifty thouſand rajaputs, and both armies lay thirty days in ſight of one another. He marches towards Marwâr,

Shere Shaw would now have been glad to retreat quietly. But the danger was too great, at the ſame time the enemy was ſo advantageouſly poſted as to render an attack too hazardous. In the midſt of this alarming ſituation, a ſucceſsful ſtratagem ſuggeſted itſelf to the king. Raja Maldeo having conquered that country, to which he had no right by inheritance, Shere Shaw forged a letter, in the Hindoo language and character, in the name of the raja's generals, addreſſed to himſelf, ſetting forth, "That, being conquered by the raja, they had, through neceſſity, ſerved him till then with fidelity; but that they were, in ſecret, very weary of his yoke. That if he would therefore, reinſtate them in their former poſſeſſions, they were willing to make him a due acknowledgement for the favor." On this letter Shere ſuperſcribed, as uſual, in Perſian, That they ſhould fear nothing, deſiring and, by a ſtratagem, deceives the enemy.

them

A. D. 1544. Hig. 951. them to perſevere in their intentions, and that they might reſt aſſured, that he would comply with their demand.

This letter was purpoſely thrown into the way of the raja, who, being always in dread of his omrahs, was eaſily deceived. He therefore declined the battle, which he intended to give that day. He was even more and more confirmed in his unjuſt ſuſpicion, by the eagerneſs which they expreſſed to engage. Upon the fourth day he ordered a retreat; but Cunia, one of his principal omrahs, having found out in what manner the raja had been deceived by theſe forgeries, endeavoured to perſuade him of his miſtake. Having found

Gallant propoſal of a Rajaput omrah.

that the raja's ſuſpicions could not be removed, he told him, That the ſuſpected treachery was unprecedented among true Rajaputs, and that he was determined to wipe off the ſtain which the raja had thrown upon their reputation, by his own blood, or the conqueſt of Shere Shaw, with his own tribe.

He returns with his own tribe, and attacks Shere.

The raja continued to retreat, but the gallant Cunia, with a few other chiefs, and ten or twelve thouſand men, turned back, with an intent to ſurprize Shere Shaw's camp. They, however, by ſome miſtake, loſt their way, and it was fair day light before they ſaw the enemy. Shere Shaw immediately formed, and came out againſt them. Though the king's army, by the ſmalleſt computation, conſiſted of eighty thouſand fighting men, this handful of brave Rajaputs repulſed them repeatedly, and would have certainly defeated them, if Jellal Chan Selwani had not at that inſtant arrived with a freſh reinforce-

After an obſtinate battle, the rajaputs are cut to pieces.

ment, to join the imperial army. Shere falling upon the Rajaputs with renewed vigor, broke them; and the brave Cunia, with almoſt his whole army, were cut to pieces.

Remarkable ſaying of Shere Shaw.

Shere Shaw, finding himſelf in poſſeſſion of a victory of which he had at one time deſpaired, exclaimed, "That, for a handful of barley, "he had almoſt given the Empire of Hindoſtan to the wind." This

grain,

grain, it ſeems, was all the ſcanty produce of that ſandy country, for which the inhabitants fought with ſo much obſtinacy. Raja Maldeo having heard of this action, and the loſs of ſo many brave men, fell into deep affliction; and being, for his puſillanimity, deſerted by the greateſt part of his army, he retreated among the mountains of Sodpoor. A. D. 1545. Hig. 952.

Shere Shaw, after this bloody victory, turned his army towards the fort of Chitor, which was ſurrendered to him by capitulation. He then directed his march to Rintimpore, and gave that country in jagier to his ſon Adil Chan, who fixed his reſidence there. The ſultan, in perſon, moved towards Callinger, which is eſteemed one of the ſtrongeſt forts in Hindoſtan. The raja of Callinger, on account of the king's treacherous behavior to Paran Mull, would make no ſubmiſſion, but prepared himſelf for hoſtilities. Shere Shaw, having drawn a line of circumvallation, begun to carry on his approaches to the place; he raiſed mounds of earth for his artillery, and ſunk mines under the rock. The royal batteries were now advanced very near the walls, breaches were made, and a general aſſault ordered, when a live ſhell, which had been thrown againſt the fort by the imperialiſts, rebounded back into the battery in which the king ſtood. The ſhell burſt in the midſt of a quantity of powder, which had not been properly ſecured. Several gunners were blown up; the king, Shech Chalile, Mulla Nizam Daniſhmund, and Diria Chan Serwani, were burnt in ſo terrible a manner, that they were carried for dead to their tents.

He takes Chitor,

and ſits down before Callinger;

beſieges the place.

The king burnt by the blowing up of powder.

In this dreadful condition the king began to breathe, in great agonies; he, however, encouraged the continuance of the attack, and gave orders, till in the evening news was brought him of the reduction of the place. He then cried out, "Thanks to "the Almighty God," and expired. The death of Shere Shaw happened on the twelfth of Ribbi ul Awil, in the year nine hundred

He dies.

A. D. 1545. Hig. 952. and fifty two. He ſpent fifteen years in a military life before he mounted the throne; and he ſat upon the muſnud five years, as emperor of Hindoſtan.

His character. The character of Shere Shaw is almoſt equally divided between virtue and vice. Public juſtice prevailed in the kingdom, while private acts of treachery diſhonored the hands of the king. He ſeemed to have made breach of faith a royal property, which he would by no means permit his ſubjects to ſhare with him. We ought, perhaps, to aſcribe this vice to the ambition of Shere. Had he been born to the muſnud, he might have been juſt, as he was valiant and politic in war: Had he confined his mind to his jagier, he might merit the character of a virtuous omrah; but his great ſoul made him look up to the throne, and he cared not by what ſteps he was to aſcend.

His magnificence. Shere Shaw left many monuments of his magnificence behind him. From Bengal and Sennargaum, to the Sind, or Nilab, which is fifteen hundred crores *, he built caravanſerais at every ſtage, and dug a well at the end of every crore. Beſides, he raiſed many magnificent moſques for the worſhip of God on the highway, wherein he appointed readers of the Koran and Imams. He ordered that at every ſerai, all travellers, without diſtinction of country or religion, ſhould be entertained, according to their quality, at the public expence. He, at the ſame time, planted rows of fruit trees along the roads, to preſerve travellers from the ſcorching heat of the ſun, as well as to gratify their taſte.

Was the firſt who eſtabliſhed regular horſe poſts. Horſe-poſts were placed at proper diſtances, for forwarding quick intelligence to government, and for the advantage of trade and correſpondence. This eſtabliſhment was new in Hindoſtan. Such was the public ſecurity during his reign, that travellers and mer-

* About three thouſand of our miles.

chants,

chants, throwing down their goods, went without fear to ſleep on the highway. A. D. 1545. Hig. 952.

It is ſaid that Shere Shaw being told that his beard grew white, replied, It was true that he had obtained the empire towards the evening. He divided his time into four equal parts: One he appropriated to public juſtice, one to the regulations of his army, one to worſhip, and the remainder to reſt and recreation. He was buried at Seſſaram, in a magnificent ſepulchre which he had built in the middle of a great tank, or reſervoir of water. His attention to buſineſs.

SECTION IV.

The reign of SELIM SHAW, the Son of SHERE SHAW.

WHEN Shere Shaw was numbered with the dead, his eldeſt ſon, Adil Chan, whom he appointed his ſucceſſor, was at Rintimpore, and his younger ſon, Jellal, in the village of Rewin, near Phetah. The omrahs, who favored Jellal more than his brother, then at ſo great a diſtance, pretended the neceſſity of filling the throne as ſoon as poſſible. They, for that purpoſe, diſpatched expreſſes to Jellal Chan, who arrived in five days in the camp. Jellal, by the influence of Iſah Chan Hugab, and his party, mounted the throne, in the fortreſs of Callinger, upon the ſeventeenth of Ribbi ul Awil, in the year nine hundred and fifty two, and aſſumed the title of Iſlam Shaw, which, by falſe pronunciation, was turned to that of Selim Shaw, by which name he is more generally known. Jellal Chan mounts the throne by the name of Selim Shaw.

Selim Shaw, having taken upon him the imperial dignity, wrote to his elder brother, in the following words: "Adil being at ſo great "a diſtance, and I ſo near, to prevent diſturbance, I took upon me "the He writes to his brother.

A. D. 1545. Hig. 952.

"the command of the army till his return. But my intentions are "only to forward my brother's intereſt, and to ſupport his authority."

Jellal, after writing this letter, marched from Callinger towards Agra, and at Kurrah was met by Chawaſs Chan, who renewed the ceremonies of royalty, and placed Selim Shaw a ſecond time on the throne, holding a magnificent feſtival upon that occaſion. From Kurrah, Selim Shaw wrote another letter to his brother, begging in the moſt affectionate terms, that he would come and ſee him.

He is placed a ſecond time upon the muſnud.

His brother's anſwer.

Adil Chan wrote to the omrahs of Selim Shaw, particularly to Cuttub Chan Naib, Iſah Chan Neazi, Chawaſs Chan, and Jellal Chan Selwani, to know to what purpoſe he was invited, and what he was to hope from them. He, at the ſame time, returned to his brother for anſwer, "That, if he would ſend theſe four omrahs to him, with "proper aſſurances, he would come." Selim Shaw ſent accordingly the four omrahs to Adil Shaw, to aſſure him, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he would permit him, if he pleaſed, to depart after the firſt interview: But that, as the omrahs had inveſted him with the imperial power, he could not be ſo ungrateful as to deſert them. However, to make ſome compenſation to Adil, for the empire, he was determined to give him his choice of any of the provinces in free jagier.

Adil Shaw, upon theſe aſſurances, proceeded to Agra. When he had reached the village of Sikri *, Selim Shaw was out on a hunting party, near that place, and appointed carpets to be ſpread for their interview. Here the brothers diſſembled the greateſt affection for one another, and after ſome diſcourſe ſet out for Agra. Selim Shaw, who wanted to ſeize his brother, gave private orders, that only a few of his retinue ſhould be admitted into the citadel; but Adil Shaw had alſo given orders to his people to preſs in, at all hazards, which they accordingly did, in ſpite of all oppoſition.

The interview of the brothers.

Their deſigns againſt one another.

* Now Fattepoor.

Selim

Selim Shaw ſaw, that, without running a great riſque, nothing could be effected againſt his brother, who was ſo much upon his guard. He, therefore, had recourſe to flattery and diſſimulation. He even proceeded ſo far, as to lay hold of Adil's hand, to place him upon the throne. Adil Shaw, who was naturally a timorous and indolent man, rejected this propoſal, knowing how little he had to truſt from the omrahs, and a deceitful, ambitious brother. Selim Shaw was well aware of all this, before he made this extraordinary offer. A. D. 1545. Hig. 952. Tranſactions in the palace.

Juſt as Selim expected, ſo it fell out; Adil Shaw, intimidated by the diſturbance which had been made at the gate, made a voluntary reſignation of his birthright, and placing Selim Shaw on the throne, ſaluted him emperor. This was inſtantly followed by all the court, who were waiting with impatience the iſſue of this extraordinary farce. They immediately advanced to the throne in ſucceſſion, and, according to their rank, preſented their nazirs *, while others exhibited the ceremony of the iſar †, crying out aloud, "We offer "our lives and fortunes to the king." Adil makes a ſolemn reſignation of the empire.

The ceremonies being ended, Cuttub Chan, and the other omrahs, who had paſſed their words to Adil Shaw, requeſted, that, as he had pitched upon Biana for his jagier, he, according to promiſe, ſhould be regularly inveſted with that province, and permitted to depart. Selim Shaw conſented, and all matters being ſettled, he gave Adil leave to quit Agra, accompanied by Iſah Chan and Chawaſs Chan. Adil obtains the province of Biana in jagier.

* Offerings made upon public occaſions to the emperor.

† Iſar, or Teſſiduck, is a ceremony uſed upon the acceſſion of a prince to the throne; the omrahs running three times round the king, waving an offering of money, in a charger, three times over the monarch's head. This money is afterwards delivered over to the royal almoner, to be diſtributed in charity, as indeed are all offerings made to the emperor.

But

A. D. 1545. Hig. 952.

But after two months, Selim gave to Ghazi Mahli, one of his eunuchs, a pair of golden fetters, to go and bring Adil Shaw priſoner. Adil Shaw, having timeous intelligence of this deſign againſt him, ſet out for Mewat, where Chawaſs Chan then reſided. He acquainted that omrah, with tears, of his brother's baſeneſs. Chawaſs Chan, whoſe honor was concerned in this affair, was rouzed with compaſſion for the unfortunate prince. He ſeized upon Ghazi Mahli, placed his fetters upon his own legs, and exalted the ſpear of rebellion againſt Selim Shaw.

Chawaſs Chan kindles a rebellion in favor of Adil.

The intereſt of Chawaſs was great among the omrahs. He wrote to them private letters, and brought many over to his party. A great army was ſoon raiſed, and Chawaſs, with Adil Shaw and Iſah Chan, marched towards Agra. He, upon his way, received letters from Cuttub Chan and Jellal Chan, who thought themſelves diſhonored by the king's behavior, aſſuring him of their aſſiſtance.

He marches towards Agra.

When the confederate omrahs arrived before Agra, Selim Shaw, at this unexpected viſit, was thrown into the utmoſt perplexity. He called Cuttub Chan and Jellal Chan to his preſence, and reproached them for not diſſuading him from that impolitic ſtep which had drawn upon him ſuch dangerous conſequences. Cuttub Chan replied, "That the buſineſs was not yet irremediable; that he would undertake to ſettle every thing in an amicable manner." Selim Shaw not ſuſpecting the fidelity of the two omrahs, immediately deſired that they ſhould go to Adil Shaw, and compromiſe affairs.

Selim in great perplexity.

When they were gone, Selim Shaw diſcovered to his friends his intentions of flying to Chinâr, where the treaſure was lodged, and there to raiſe an army to reduce his brother, whom he was not at preſent in a condition to oppoſe. Iſah Chan Hujâb diſſuaded him from this reſolution. He told him, "That he had with him ten thouſand Chermalli Patans, who had ſerved him before he aſcended the

Propoſes to fly to Chinâr.

Is diſſuaded by Iſah Chan, and reſolves to ſtand his ground.

the throne, whom he could not ſuſpect of diſaffection, beſides many other faithful ſervants. That therefore, it was the heighth of folly, to truſt the empire, which God had given him, to the future caprice of fortune, when he had it in his power to defend it inſtantly in the field. Do not, ſaid Iſah, throw away the friends whom you have acquired in your proſperity, with a vain hope to pick up others in the ſeaſon of diſtreſs. The wiſeſt courſe for you, continued the omrah, is to appear at the head of your troops, and to fix the foot of reſolution on the field of war. This will ſecure your wavering troops, and intimidate the enemy." A. D. 1545. Hig. 952.

Selim Shaw, encouraged by this bold advice, reſolved to ſtand his ground. He immediately diſpatched a meſſage to Cuttub Chan, and the other omrahs, who had not yet ſet out, to accommodate matters with Adil, and commanded them to his preſence. He told them, That having altered his mind, he was reſolved not to truſt his faithful omrahs in the hands of his enemies. He forthwith ordered his troops to their arms, marched out of the city, and formed his army on the plain.

The omrahs, who had promiſed to favor Adil Shaw, ſeeing their king in the field, aſhamed to betray him, were neceſſitated to fight, which greatly diſconcerted Chawaſs Chan, who, every minute, expected they would join him. He, however, fought with great bravery, but he was overthrown. Engages the enemy, and overthrows them.

Adil Shaw, after this unfortunate battle, fled towards Patna, but he ſoon diſappeared, and was never heard of afterwards. Chawaſs Chan and Iſah Chan Neazi, fled to Mewât. Selim Shaw ſent an army in purſuit of thoſe omrahs, but they came off victorious, at Firoſpoor. The imperial army being ſoon after reinforced, the rebel chiefs were obliged to retreat among the mountains of Cumaoon. Selim ſent Cuttub Chan in purſuit of them, and he plundered all Adil Shaw diſappears.

the

A. D. 1545. Hig. 952. the countries lying about the ſkirts of the hills, without effecting any thing againſt them.

Selim Shaw, after theſe tranſactions, marched to Chinâr. On the way, he was informed of the treaſonable correſpondence of Jellal Chan with Adil, before the late deciſive battle, and ordered him to be put to death, together with his brother, who was concerned in the conſpiracy. The king having arrived at Chinâr, he took out of that fortreſs all the treaſure, ſent it to Gualier, and returned himſelf to Agra.

Cuttub Chan, finding that Selim was no ſtranger to the part which he had acted in the late diſturbances, was afraid to return to court. He fled, therefore, to Hybut Chan at Lahore, known by the title of Azim Humaioon, and claimed his protection. Selim Shaw ſent orders to Lahore, that Cuttub ſhould be ſent to Agra, with which Azim Humaioon complied. The unfortunate Cuttub, upon his arrival, was ſent priſoner to Gualier, with many other ſuſpected perſons, particularly Shebaz Chan Lohani, the king's brother-in-law, whoſe eyes were put out. Azim Humaioon and Suja Chan, ſuba of Malava, were, much about this time, called to court. The firſt excuſed himſelf, and the latter, obeying the ſummons, had the addreſs to clear himſelf of what he was accuſed, and ſo was reinſtated in his government.

Several ſuſpected perſons puniſhed.

The king marches to Rhotas.

A rebellion.

The king, after theſe tranſactions, moved towards Rhotas, to bring the treaſure, which his father had depoſited in that place, to Agra. Seid Chan, the brother of Azim Humaioon, deſerted him on the way, and fled to Lahore. The king, from this circumſtance, concluded that a rebellion was in agitation, which determined him to return immediately to Agra. He ſoon aſſembled his forces from all quarters, and marched to Delhi, where he ordered the new city which Humaioon had built, to be walled in with ſtone. At Delhi,

Suja

Suja Chan joined him with the army from Malava. The king remained only a few days in Delhi to regulate his army, and then took the rout of Lahore. A. D. 1547. Hig. 954. Selim marches to Lahore.

Azim Humaioon, Chawaſs Chan, and other diſaffected chiefs, with double the king's forces, came out before Selim at Ambatta. Selim arriving within ſight of the rebels, diſmounted, and, with a few friends, aſcended a riſing ground for the purpoſe of reconnoitring; when he had for ſome time viewed their diſpoſition, he ſaid: "It is not conſiſtent with my honor to have any patience with a rebellious army;" and, at theſe words, he ordered his line to be formed, and to advance againſt them. The rebels meet him at Ambatta.

It happened very fortunately for the affairs of Selim, that, upon the preceding night, there had ariſen a diſpute among the rebel generals, about the ſucceſſion to the throne. Chawaſs Chan inſiſted that ſearch ſhould be made for Adil Shaw, and Azim Humaioon ſtrenuouſly affirmed, "That the empire was no man's inheritance, but ſhould always follow the fortune of the ſword." This plainly pointed out his own views. On this head, animoſity and faction aroſe, ſo that as ſoon as the rebels had formed the line, Chawaſs Chan retreated, with all his troops, without ſtriking a blow. This circumſtance ſo much diſcouraged the remaining part of the rebels, that their reſiſtance was faint, and an unexpected victory fell to Selim. Diſputes ariſing among them, they ſeparate, and are overthrown.

But, in the midſt of this tide of good fortune, the ſultan narrowly eſcaped with his life, from a daring attempt of Seid Chan, the brother of Azim Humaioon. This gallant omrah, with ten of his friends in armor, mixed, without diſcovery, with the king's troops, and advanced towards him, as if they were about to congratulate him upon his victory. An elephant-driver, who ſtood near the king, obſerved and knew Seid, and ſtruck him with his ſpear: Yet, in ſpite of all the guards, and the army which ſtood round, Seid and his party cut their way through, ſword in hand, and eſcaped. An attempt upon the life of Selim.

A. D. 1548. Hig. 955.

He purſues the rebels into the mountains.

The rebels, who called themſelves the Neazies, being moſtly of that family, retreated, after this defeat, to Dincot, near Rop, in the mountains, Selim Shaw purſuing them as far as the new fort of Rhotas, which his father had built. He, from thence, detached Chaja Weis Serwani, with a ſtrong force after them, and returned himſelf to Agra, and from thence ſoon after proceeded to Gualier.

He is deſerted at Gualier by Suja Chan.

Suja Chan going one day up to the fort before the king, one Oſmân, a perſon whom Suja had deprived of his right hand ſome time before, had concealed himſelf by the ſide of the road, with a deſperate intention to be revenged upon that omrah. The aſſaſſin ruſhed out upon Suja, and inflicted a wound with his dagger. Suja, without enquiring into the matter, imagined that the whole was done by the inſtigation of the king, and therefore fled, with great precipitation, and made his way towards Malava, with all his forces. The king purſued him as far as Mundu, but hearing that he had fled to Banſwalla, he returned, leaving Iſah Chan Soor, with twenty thouſand horſe, at Ugein, to obſerve his motions. This happened in the year nine hundred and fifty four.

Caja Weis defeated by the Neazi rebels.

Caja Weis having been ſome time before left to carry on the war againſt the Neazi rebels, engaged them near Dincot, and was defeated by Azim Humaioon, who purſued him as far as Sirhind. Selim Shaw hearing of this defeat, aſſembled a great army, and diſpatched it, under proper generals, againſt the rebels. Azim Humaioon was obliged to retreat in his turn to Dincot. The rebels turned upon the imperial army at Simbollo, but were overthrown with great ſlaughter. Azim Humaioon's mother, and all his family, were taken priſoners.

They are, in their turn, overthrown.

They throw themſelves under the protection of the Gickers.

The Neazi rebels, after this defeat, threw themſelves under the protection of the Gickers among the mountains bordering on Caſhmire. Selim Shaw, finding that he could never reſt in peace without

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out effectually quaſhing this rebellion, marched in perſon towards Punjab, and, for the ſpace of two years, carried on a war with the Gickers who ſupported the Neazies. A. D. 1550. Hig. 957.

In this expedition a perſon concealed himſelf in the narrow path, by which the king, one day aſcended the mountain of Mannickcot, and ruſhed upon him with a drawn ſword. Selim, having time to draw, ſaved himſelf, and killed the aſſaſſin, and perceived that his ſword was one that he himſelf had formerly preſented to Ackbal Chan. An attempt upon Selim's life.

The Gickers being driven from one place to another, without being in a condition to face the king, Azim Humaioon, with his followers, went into Caſhmire; but the king of that country, fearing Selim Shaw's reſentment, oppoſed the rebels, and, having defeated them, ſent the heads of Azim Humaioon, Seid Chan, and Shabaſs Chan to the king. Selim being now ſecured againſt further diſturbance from that quarter, returned to Delhi. Mirza Camiran, much about this time, flying from his brother Sultan Humaioon, who was now on his way from Perſia, took protection under Selim Shaw. But he was very ill received, and fled to the mountains of Sewalic, among the Gickers. The rebels, driven from among the Gickers, are defeated and ſlain by the king of Caſhmire. Mirza Camiran ill-received by Selim.

Selim Shaw, after returning from his expedition, had only remained a few days at Delhi, when he received advices, that Sultan Humaioon had reached the Nilâb. The king was at that inſtant drawing blood by cupping; he immediately ſtarted up, iſſued orders to march, and he himſelf encamped, that evening, three crores without the city. He there waited for his artillery, which was dragged by men, till the bullocks, which were grazing in the country, could be brought together. The artillery being very heavy, each gun required between one and two thouſand men; yet, in this manner, he marched, with great expedition, to Lahore. But, in the mean time, Humaioon retreated, as we ſhall have occaſion to mention in the ſequel. Selim Selim marches againſt Sultan Humaioon, who retreats.

A. D. 1551. Hig. 958. Shaw returned to Delhi, and from thence proceeded to Gualier, where he took up his reſidence.

A plot againſt Selim's life. Selim taking, one day, the diverſion of the chace, near Atri, a body of banditti, who had been ſet on by ſome of the king's enemies, lay in ambuſh, to take his life. But he perceived them time enough to avoid the ſnare. When they were ſeized and examined, they impeached Baha ul Dien, Mahmood Mudda, and others, who were immediately executed, after which the king became extremely ſuſpicious, and put many to death upon ſmall preſumptions.

Chawaſs Chan aſſaſſinated. Chawaſs Chan, a man juſtly renowned for perſonal courage, ſtrict honor, great abilities in war, and extenſive generoſity, being long driven about from place to place, came to Taje Chan Kirrani, who had owed his preferment to him, and now governed Simbol. The ungrateful villain, in violation of his oath, and the laws of hoſpitality, to ingratiate himſelf with Selim Shaw, baſely aſſaſſinated him. His body being carried to Delhi, was there interred. His tomb is frequented by the devout to this day, they numbering him among their ſaints.

Selim dies. Not long after this baſe aſſaſſination, in which Selim Shaw was concerned, he was ſeized with a fiſtula in ano, by which, in the year nine hundred and ſixty, he bled to death, having reigned nine years. In the ſame year, Sultan Mahmood, of Guzerat, and Buran Nizam ul Muluck Bheri of the Decan died. Selim poſſeſſed not the abilities of his father, and conſequently carried neither his virtues nor his vices to ſuch extremes. He, in ſome meaſure, ſuited the times in which he lived; and was rather a neceſſary than a good prince. A man of an upright mind might ſtagger in the ſtream of corruption, which then prevailed, but Selim ſtood firm, by meeting the world in its own way. He poſſeſſed perſonal bravery, and was not unſkilful in the field of war. Like Shere, he was magnificent, and ſtudied the convenience of travellers.

His character.

vellers. From Bengal to the Nilâb, he built an intermediate ſerai, between each of thoſe which his father had erected; all who paſſed along the great road being entertained at the public expence. A. D. 1552. Hig. 960.

In the reign of Selim, Shech Allai, a philoſopher of Biana, made a great noiſe in the world, by introducing a new ſyſtem of religion. He called himſelf Emam Mendi, whom we believe will be the laſt of the prophets, and will conquer the world. The impoſtor having raiſed great diſturbances in the empire, converted ſome thouſands by force and perſuaſion. After being twice baniſhed by Selim, he returned, and kindled freſh troubles, and was, in the year nine hundred and fifty five, ſcourged to death at Agra, by order of the king. He remained firm to his doctrine in the agonies of death; but his religion was not long maintained by his diſciples.

When Selim travelled the road of mortality, his ſon, Feroſe Chan, was, at twelve years of age, raiſed to the throne, by the omrahs at Gualier. He had not reigned three days, when Mubariz Chan, the ſon of Nizam Chan Soor, nephew to the late Emperor Shere, brother of Selim Shaw's wife, and the uncle of Feroſe, aſſaſſinated the young prince. Mubariz aſſumed the title of Mahummud Shaw Adil *, to which his infamous treaſon had no right, and uſurped the empire. He perpetrated this barbarous deed with his own hand, in the Mahl. The villain's own ſiſter, Bibi Bai, defended, for ſome time, her ſon in her arms, preſenting her body to the dagger. In vain did ſhe intreat and weep: the wretch was hardened againſt pity. He tore the young prince from her arms, and, in her preſence, ſevered his head from his body. This was the return which he made to the unfortunate Bibi Bai, for ſaving his life, repeated times, when Selim, foreſeeing his villainies, would have put him to death.

Feroſe mounts the throne.

Is barbarouſly murdered.

* Adil ſignifies *the Juſt*.

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SECTION V.

The reign of MAHUMMUD SHAW ADILI.

A. D. 1552. Hig. 960. Mahummud Adil is illiterate. Raiſes low men to the chief offices of the ſtate.

THE infamous Mahummud, having always given himſelf up to pleaſure, neglected even the common accompliſhment of reading and writing. He hated men of learning, and kept company with illiterate fellows like himſelf, whom he raiſed to the higheſt dignities in the empire, among whom one Himu, a Hindoo Bunnia *, whom Selim Shaw had raiſed to be Cutwal of the Bazar, was now entruſted with all the weight of the adminiſtration.

His fooliſh prodigality.

The king, in the mean time, heedleſs of what paſſed, ſpent his time in all the luxurious debaucheries of the Haram. Having heard much in praiſe of ſome of the former kings, particularly Feroſe Shaw, for their great generoſity, he miſtook prodigality for that virtue, and to outdo them all, opened the treaſury, and laviſhed it on good and bad, without diſtinction. When he rode out, he uſed to head his arrows with gold, which he ſhot among the multitude. This fooliſh extravagance ſoon made away with the great treaſures of his predeceſſors; and all his reward from the people was the nickname of Andili; which, in the Hindoo language, ſignifies literally the Blind, and metaphorically, the Fooliſh.

The omrahs diſcontented.

When the low-born Himu found himſelf inveſted with the whole executive power of the empire, his pride and inſolence exceeded all bounds. This naturally made all the Patan omrahs his enemies. They began to conſpire for his deſtruction, and to revolt from his authority. The king became more and more deſpicable, every day, in the eyes of the people, while all order and government totally declined.

* A ſhopkeeper.

Mahummud

A. D. 1552. Hig. 960.

Mahummud Adil giving, one day, public audience, and diſtributing jagiers among his omrahs, he ordered the province of Kinnoge to be taken from Shaw Mahummud Firmalli, and given to Sermuſt Chan Sirbunna. Secunder Chan, the ſon of Firmalli, a brave young man, being preſent, ſaid aloud to the emperor, "Is my "fortune, then, to be conferred on a ſeller of dogs?" The young man's father, who was alſo preſent, endeavored to check the impetuoſity of his ſon; but he only inflamed his paſſion the more: He charged the king, in plain terms, with a baſe deſign to extirpate his family.

Tranſactions in the preſence chamber.

Sermuſt Chan, who was a man of uncommon ſtrength and ſtature, ſeeing this behavior to the king, and being alſo perſonally affronted, ſeized Secunder Chan by the breaſt; Secunder drew his dagger, and killed him on the ſpot. He then flew at all thoſe who endeavored to oppoſe him, killed ſeveral chiefs, and wounded many more. He then made directly for the king, who leapt from the throne, and ran into the Mahl; Secunder Chan purſuing him, had the door ſtruck in his face, which ſtopped his courſe, till the king drew the bolt, and ſecured himſelf.

The raſhneſs and bravery of Secunder Chan.

The deſperate youth, finding himſelf diſappointed in his deſign upon the ſultan, reſolved to revenge himſelf upon his baſe minions, and running back into the audience chamber, dealt death to all who oppoſed him. In the mean time, Ibrahim Chan Soor, the king's brother-in-law, attacked Secunder with ſome of his people, and cut him to pieces. Dowlat Chan Lohani killed, at the ſame time, the good old man, Shaw Mahummud, who could not have been blamed for his ſon's raſhneſs.

He falls upon the king's minions.

Is ſlain.

The unfortunate Firmalli having met Taje Chan Kerrani, as he was going that day to the preſence chamber, he aſked that omrah whither he was going; to which the other replied, "That affairs had

Taje Chan withdraws from court.

taken

A. D. 1553. Hig. 961.

taken ſuch an extraordinary turn, at court, that he was determined to puſh his own fortune, and would be glad that Firmalli would partake it with him." Firmalli anſwered, "That he aſpired to no fortune but what he poſſeſſed by favor of the king, for which he was going to pay his compliments; but ſuch as we have ſeen was his reward."

Seizes upon the public money.

Taje Chan, as ſoon as he got out of the fort, took the way of Bengal, with all his dependants. Troops were diſpatched to purſue him; they came up with him at Chuppera Mow, about forty crores from Agra, where he fought them, and made good his retreat to Chinâr. He, in his progreſs, ſeized the public money, and other effects belonging to the crown; and diſtributed one hundred elephants among his brothers, Amad, Solimân, Eliâs, and other relations, who had poſſeſſions in the province of Budgpoor. By their aſſiſtance he raiſed a formidable army, which obliged the king to take the field, and march towards Chinâr. The inſurgents meeting him upon the banks of the Ganges, above Chinâr, they were defeated and diſperſed.

Is overthrown.

The king jealous of Ibrahim Soor's popularity,

The king, becoming jealous of the popularity of Ibrahim Chan Soor, gave private orders to ſeize him; but his wife, who was ſiſter to the king, having heard of this deſign in the Mahl, told her huſband of it. He fled from Chinâr to his father, Ghazi Chan, ſuba of Hindown Biana, and was purſued by Iſah Chan Neazi, who coming up with him at Calpee, an engagement enſued, in which Iſah Chan was defeated, and driven back from further purſuit.

who mounts the throne at Delhi.

Ibrahim Chan, ſoon after, raiſed a great army, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the city of Delhi, where he mounted the throne, aſſumed the enſigns of royalty, marched to Agra, and reduced the circumjacent provinces.

Adil

Adil Shaw marched from Chinâr to ſuppreſs this uſurpation, and, on the way, received an embaſſy from Ibrahim Chan, promiſing that if he would ſend Huſſein Chan, Par Chan Serwani, Azim Humaioon, and other omrahs, with aſſurances of forgiveneſs, he would ſubmit. The king was weak enough to comply with his requeſt. The omrahs went; and Ibrahim Chan, by preſents, promiſes, and courteous behavior, ſoon drew them over to his own intereſt. Adil Shaw, finding himſelf in no condition to oppoſe ſo ſtrong a confederacy, fled towards Chinâr, and contented himſelf with the eaſtern provinces. Ibrahim immediately erected the ſpear of empire in the weſt, by the title of Sultan Ibrahim.

A. D. 1552. Hig. 961. Adil Shaw advances againſt him.

Is deſerted by his omrahs.

SECTION VI.

The reign of SULTAN IBRAHIM.

SULTAN IBRAHIM had no ſooner mounted the throne, than another competitor ſtarted up in Punjâb. His name was Ahmed Chan Soor, nephew to Shere Shaw, and alſo brother-in-law to Adil Shaw. Ahmed having attached Hybut Chan, Niſib Chan, Tatar Chan, and other omrahs of Selim Shaw, to his intereſt, aſſumed the title of Secunder Shaw, and marching with ten or twelve thouſand horſe towards Agra, encamped at Firrah, within two crores of that city. Sultan Ibrahim, with ſeventy thouſand horſe, came out to meet him, having, in this army, two hundred omrahs who pitched velvet tents, and poſſeſſed the dignities of the ſpear, drum, and colours.

A competitor in Punjaab

aſſumes the title of Secunder Shaw,

Secunder, ſeeing this formidable army, began to repent of his invaſion, and made overtures of peace. The only condition he aſked, was the government of Punjâb. But Sultan Ibrahim, puffed up with the pride of his own ſuperiority, would grant him no terms,

A. D. 1554 Hig. 962. and therefore both armies drew up and engaged. Secunder Shaw committed all the enſigns of royalty to one of his omrahs, and, with a choice body of horſe, took poſt among ſome trees, where he could not be diſcovered. Sultan Ibrahim, upon the firſt charge, broke through the army of Secunder; his troops quitted their ranks, and were intent upon nothing but plunder; when Secunder Shaw, ruſhing out upon them, ſtruck a panic into the whole army; they immediately took to flight, and were purſued by thoſe whom they had ſo eaſily diſcomfited before.

overthrows Ibrahim,

who retreats to Simbol.

Sultan Ibrahim, after this defeat, abandoned his capital, and retreated to Simbol. Secunder Shaw took poſſeſſion both of Agra and Delhi; but he had not long enjoyed his fortune, when he was obliged to march to Punjâb, to oppoſe Humaioon; for that monarch, having returned from a long exile, was now advancing to recover his dominions.

During the abſence of Secunder, Sultan Ibrahim marched towards Calpee; and, at the ſame time, Adil Shaw diſpatched Himu, his vizier, with a formidable army, well appointed in cavalry, elephants, and artillery, from Chinâr, with a view to recover his empire.

Is overthrown by Himu.

Himu engaged Ibrahim at Calpee, and gave him a ſignal defeat. Ibrahim, flying to his father at Biana, was purſued by Himu, who beſieged him in that city, for three months.

The ſuba of Bengal rebels.

In the mean time, Mahummud Chan Gori, ſuba of Bengal, rebelled, and led an army againſt Adil Shaw. This circumſtance obliged that prince to recall Himu from the ſiege of Biana; and Ibrahim, emboldened by the retreat of the enemy, purſued them, and coming up with Himu at Mindakir, near Agra, gave him battle;

Ibrahim again defeated by Himu, and by Raja Ram.

but he was again defeated, and obliged to fly back to his father, at Biana. The reſtleſs ſpirit of Ibrahim could not, however, be ſtill: He marched towards Bhetah, and engaging Raja Ram Churid, of

that

that country, was defeated and taken priſoner. He was uſed with the utmoſt reſpect, till the Patans of Miani obtained him from the raja, and appointed him their chief. Under him they commenced a war againſt Bage Bahadar, ſuba of Malava; but the bad fortune of Ibrahim ſtill purſued him, he was beat, and fled to Oriſſa. That province being conquered in the year nine hundred and ſeventy five, by Solimân Kerrani, the unfortunate Ibrahim was taken and put to death. A. D. 1554. Hig. 962.

To return from this digreſſion; when Himu joined Adil Shaw at Chinâr, he received advices that Humaioon had defeated Secunder Shaw, and poſſeſſed himſelf of Delhi and Agra. Himu, however, marched againſt Mahummud Chan, ſuba of Bengal, who gave him the ſlip, by croſſing the hills near Rhotas, and entering the country of Bandelcund. He was purſued thither by Himu: The two armies came to action at the village of Chircut, fifteen crores from Calpee, and Mahummud Chan was ſlain. Himu defeats and ſlays the ſuba of Bengal.

Adil Shaw, after this victory, inſtead of proceeding to Agra, returned to Chinâr, to aſſemble more troops for carrying on the war with Humaioon. But he was ſoon after informed of that monarch's death; which induced him to ſend Himu, with fifty thouſand horſe, and five hundred elephants, towards Agra, not daring to leave Chinâr himſelf, on account of the violent factions which then ſubſiſted among the Patans. Marches to Agra.

Himu arriving before Agra, the Mogul omrahs who were there, being too weak to oppoſe him, fled to Delhi. Himu purſued them thither, and Tirdi Beg, governor of Delhi, giving him battle, was defeated, and fled to Punjaab, leaving Himu in poſſeſſion of both the imperial cities*. Himu meditated the conqueſt of Lahore; but Byram Chan, the Turkuman, viceroy for Akbar, ſent Chan Zemân, a Mogul, with all expedition, towards Delhi. He himſelf followed, with the young king. Drives the Moguls from Agra, and from Delhi.

* Delhi, and Agra.

A. D. 1554. Hig. 962.

Himu marched out to meet Chan Zemân, drew up on the plains of Panniput, and charging the Moguls with great bravery, threw them into diſorder. But the Afghans, always more mindful of plunder, than of ſecuring victory, were again attacked by the Moguls, and defeated. Himu was ſurrounded, and taken priſoner, and being carried before the king, condemned to death.

Is overthrown, taken and put to death.

The fortune of Adil declines.

After the death of the unfortunate Himu, who had certainly great abilities, notwithſtanding his mean deſcent, the fortune of Adil Shaw declined apace. In the mean time, Chizer Chan, the ſon of Mahummud Chan Gori, to revenge the death of his father, raiſed an army, and aſſuming the title of Sultan Bahadar, poſſeſſed himſelf of a great part of the eaſtern provinces. He led his army againſt Adil Shaw, defeated, and ſlew him. The anarchy and confuſions in Hindoſtan, at this period, rendered it impoſſible to continue the direct chain of our hiſtory in the order of time. We therefore muſt turn back to what we have omitted of the hiſtory of Secunder Shaw, and Humaioon.

He is defeated and ſlain by the ſuba of Bengal.

SECTION VII.

The reign of SECUNDER SHAW SOOR, and the fall of the Patan Empire.

SECUNDER SHAW having aſcended the throne of Agra, in the year nine hundred and ſixty-two, he made a magnificent feſtival, and calling together all his omrahs, ſpoke to them to this effect: "I eſteem myſelf as one of you, having thus far acted for "the common weal. I claim no ſuperiority. Sultan Beloli raiſed "the tribe of Lodi to an uncommon height of glory and reputation; "Shere Chan, by unparalleled conduct and reſolution, rendered the "tribe of Soor famous to all poſterity; and now, Humaioon, heir "to his father's conqueſts, is watching for an opportunty to de-

Secunder Shaw his ſpeech to the omrahs.

"ſtroy

"ſtroy us all. If, therefore, you ſincerely affect my government, A. D. 1554. Hig. 962.
"and will throw aſide private faction and animoſities, our kingdom
"will be adorned with all the flowers of proſperity. But if you
"ſhould think me incapable of that great charge, let an abler head,
"and a ſtronger arm, be elected from among you, that I alſo may
"ſwear allegiance to him; that with my life and fortune I may ſup-
"port him, and endeavor to keep the Empire of Hindoſtan in the
"hands of the Afghans, who have ruled it for ſo many ages by their
"valor."

The omrahs, after hearing this ſpeech, anſwered with one accord, They elect him king.
"We unanimouſly elect you, the nephew of Shere Shaw, for our
"lawful ſovereign." Calling then for a Coran, all ſwore allegiance to the king, and to preſerve unanimity among themſelves. However, in a few days, they began to diſpute about governments, honors, and places. The flames of enmity were kindled higher than ever, and every one reproached his fellow with perfidy, of which he himſelf was equally guilty.

Humaioon, in the mean time, marched towards Punjâb. Tatar Chan fled from the new fort of Rhotas, to Delhi, and the Moguls ſubdued all the country as far as Lahore. Secunder Shaw, upon receiving theſe advices, ſent forty thouſand horſe, under the command of Tatar Chan and Hybut Chan, to expel the Moguls. But this army was defeated, loſt all their elephants and baggage, never drawing bridle, till they arrived at Delhi. Secunder Shaw, though ſenſible of the diſaffection and factious ſtate of his army, marched with eighty thouſand horſe towards Punjâb, and engaging Byrâm Chan, the Turkuman, the tutor of prince Akbar, near Sirhind, was defeated, and fled towards the mountains of Sewalic. The empire of Hindoſtan, with this victory, fell again into the hands of the houſe of Baber, and flouriſhed; while, in the mean time, Sultan Adil died in Bengal. He is repeatedly defeated by the Moguls.

SECTION

SECTION VIII.

The tranſactions of HUMAIOON, from his arrival in Perſia, to his return to Hindoſtan.

A. D. 1544. Hig. 951. Humaioon arrives in Perſia.

WE have already ſeen that Humaioon, having arrived at Kizvi in Iran, diſpatched Byram Chan to the Perſian monarch at Iſpahan. That omrah accordingly waited upon Shaw Tamaſp at Nilack Kidar, between Abher and Sultania, and received an anſwer which teſtified the king's great deſire to have an interview with Humaioon. The unfortunate ſultan accepted, with joy, of the invitation, and in the month of Jemmad ul Awil, in the year nine hundred and fifty one, had a conference with Shaw Tamaſp, the ſon of Shaw Iſmaiel Suffvi, and was royally entertained.

The king of Iran, one day, in converſation, aſked Humaioon, By what means his weak enemy became ſo powerful? Humaioon replied, "By the enmity of my brothers." The Perſian then told him, "The political manner of treating brothers is not ſuch as they received from you." And being, at that time, at table, as ſoon as Shaw Tamaſp was done eating, Byram Mirza, his brother, who attended him, as a ſervant, came with the baſon and ewer for him to waſh *. When this was done, Tamaſp turned to Humaioon, and reſuming the diſcouſe, ſaid, "In this manner you ought to have treated your "brothers." Humaioon, out of compliment to the king, ſeemed to aſſent to what he ſaid; which ſo much offended Byram Mirza, the king's brother, that he never after could forgive him, while he reſided at court. He took every opportunity to calumniate Humaioon to the king, and was ever harping in his ears, how much againſt the intereſt of Perſia it was, that a prince of the line of Timur ſhould ſit

* To attend the ſovereign in any menial office about his perſon, is the greateſt honor that can be conferred upon a ſubject in the Eaſt.

upon

upon the throne of Hindoſtan. This maxim Byram Mirza took care to inculcate upon all who had the king's confidence. This circumſtance greatly retarded the affairs of Humaioon, and, at length, wrought ſo viſibly upon the king's diſpoſition, that the unfortunate fugitive began to fear death or impriſonment. A. D. 1544. Hig. 951.

In the mean time, Sultanum Begum, the king's ſiſter, and Cuſi Jehan of Kizvi, the high chancellor, in conjunction with Hakîm Noor ul Dien, one of the king's privy counſellors, taking compaſſion upon Humaioon's diſtreſſed ſituation, joined their intereſts to work a reconciliation, and to reinſtate him in the favor of the king. The wit of Sultanum Begum had a great effect upon this occaſion. She, one day, produced a ſtanza of verſes to the king, of her own compoſition, in the name of Humaioon, extolling his devotion and happy turn of expreſſion in the praiſe of Ali. This greatly pleaſed Tamaſp, zealous for the ſect of the Shiahs, who differ from the Sinnites, the ſect whoſe tenets Humaioon followed. The Shiahs hold Ali to be the only aſſiſtant of Mahommed in his apoſtolic function, but the Sinnites believe in four, adding Oſman, Omar, and Abubecker to Ali. The king's ſiſter and ſome omrahs favor the cauſe of Humaioon.

The king, in ſhort, told his ſiſter, That if Humaioon ſhould become a Shiah, and enforce that doctrine in Hindoſtan, he would aſſiſt him to recover his empire. Sultanum Begum having acquainted Humaioon of theſe particulars, he was not ſo much wedded to a ſect, as to loſe a kingdom for an immaterial difference in a point of religion. He accordingly returned for anſwer, "That he had always privately favored the opinions of the Shiahs, which was partly the occaſion of the animoſity ſubſiſting between him and his brothers."

Shaw Tamaſp, ſoon after, had a private conference with Byram Chan, examined him concerning the policy and ſtate of Hindoſtan; and when he had ſatisfied himſelf upon that head, he promiſed that his ſon Murad, who was then but an infant, with his general Biddai

Chan

A. D. 1545. Hig. 952. The king gives him ten thouſand horſe.

Chan Cadjar, ſhould accompany Humaioon, with ten thouſand horſe, to chaſtiſe his brothers, and drive them out of Cabul, Candahar, and Buduchſhan. Every thing accordingly was, in a ſhort time, got in readineſs, and Humaioon took leave of the Perſian king. He told him, that he had long propoſed to take a tour through Tibrez and Ardebiel, to viſit the tomb of Shech Suffi, and then to proceed on his expedition. The king conſented to this propoſal, and iſſued orders to all governors through whoſe territories Humaioon was to paſs, to ſupply him and his army with all neceſſaries, and treat him in a manner becoming his dignity.

Humaioon takes Garrimſere.

Humaioon having viſited and paid his devotions at the ſhrine of Suffi, marched with the young prince Murad, towards Candahar. He inveſted the fort of Garrimſere, took it, and read the chutba in his own name. Mirza Aſhkari, who commanded at Candahar for Camiran, hearing of theſe proceedings, ſent the young prince, the ſon of Humaioon, Mahummud Akbar, to his uncle at Cabul, and prepared the fort of Candahar for a ſiege.

Humaioon inveſts Candahar.

Humaioon inveſted it upon the ſeventh of Mohirrim, in the year nine hundred and fifty two. The ſiege had been carried on for ſix months, when Humaioon ſent Bytâm Chan with a meſſage to Mirza Camiran, then at Cabul. A tribe of the Patans of Hazara, attacked Byrâm with great reſolution, but they were defeated, and that omrah having obtained an audience of Mirza Camiran, according to his inſtructions made a demand of Candahar, and required a reſignation of all thoſe provinces which he had uſurped from his brother Humaioon. But it was not to be expected that Mirza Camiran would as yet liſten to ſuch a demand, and ſo the ambaſſador departed without effecting any thing.

The Perſians diſcontented.

The Perſian kiſſelbaches * were now beginning to be diſcouraged by the length of the ſiege, and diſcontented at being commanded by

* Soldiers.

Moguls,

Moguls. This circumſtance might have obliged Humaioon to raiſe the ſiege, had he not been joined by Mahummud Sultan Mirza, Aligh Beg Mirza, Cuſim Huſſein Sultan, Mahummud Mirick, Shere Aſkun Beg, Fuſil Beg, and other omrahs, who, diſguſted with Mirza Camiran, had left his ſervice. Some of the beſieged deſerted alſo, and joined the king. Theſe favorable circumſtances revived the ſinking ſpirits of his army, and equally depreſſed thoſe of the beſieged. Mirza Aſhkari deſired to capitulate; his requeſt was granted upon honorable terms; he gave up the place, and, much aſhamed of his former behavior, waited upon the king. A. D. 1545. Hig. 952. Candahar taken by capitulation.

The fort of Candahar, as had been ſtipulated with Shaw Tamaſp, was given to his ſon Mirza Murad. The winter having now come on, the young prince Murad, Biddai Chan, Abul Fatte Sultan Afſhâr, and Sufi Willi Sultan Aridmullu, took up their quarters in the fort, without admitting the Mogul omrahs. This ſo much diſguſted them, that ſome, having no quarters, went off to Cabul, while Mirza Aſhkari, with a view of raiſing more diſturbance, alſo fled. Aſhkari, however, was purſued, and brought back priſoner. Put into the hands of the Perſians.

Humaioon, finding inaction more dangerous to his affairs than war, marched towards Cabul. On the way he heard of the death of the young prince Murâd, at Candahar, upon which he returned, with a view to retain that fort as a place of ſecurity, till he ſhould make further conqueſts. Buddai Chan would not hearken to his propoſal, which ſilenced the king, who could not, conſiſtent with gratitude, or his own promiſe, compel him to deliver up the place. The young prince Murad of Perſia dies at Candahar.

But the urgency of his affairs ſoon obliged Humaioon to depart from theſe punctilios of honor. He therefore tacitly permitted Byram Chan, Mirza Aligh Beg, and Hadgee Mahummud Chan, to take what means they could to render themſelves maſters of the place. Theſe omrahs, accordingly, ſent Hadgee Mahummud Chan,

A. D. 1545. Hig. 952. Humaioon, by a ſtratagem, ſeizes upon Candahar.

and a few enterprizing men, diſguiſed like camel-drivers, among a ſtring of camels, which was then bringing proviſions into the fort. They fell upon the guards, and diſpatched them, while Byram Chan, and Mirza Aligh Beg, ruſhed in with a choſen party of horſe, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the fort. Biddai Chan returned, by the king's permiſſion, to Iran, and Byram Chan was appointed to the government of Candahar.

The king marches to Cabul,

The king marched immediately towards Cabul. Mirza Eadgâr Naſir, the brother of Baber, flying, at this time, from Mirza Shaw Huſſein Arghu, to Cabul, in conjunction with Mirza Hindal, the king's brother, joined Humaioon. The king, encamping in the environs of Cabul, before the army of his brother, was every day joined by ſome of Camiran's troops, who deſerted his ſtandards. Even Kipla Beg, one of Mirza Camiran's principal omrahs, came over, with all his adherents. This ſo much weakened Mirza's army, that he was neceſſitated to ſhut himſelf up in the city.

inveſts and takes that city,

Humaioon inveſted the place; but as it was only ſlightly fortified, Camiran evacuated it without fighting, and fled to Ghizni.

which he enters.

The king ſent Mirza Hindal in purſuit of his brother, and, on the tenth of Ramzân, nine hundred and fifty two, entered Cabul, where he found his ſon Akbar, then four years old, with his mother Beguma, and, taking him in his arms, he repeated a verſe to this purpoſe: "Joſeph, by his envious brethren, was caſt into a well; but "he was exalted by Providence to the ſummit of glory."

Mirza Camiran; being ſhut out of Ghizni, flies to Dawir and Bicker.

The gates of Ghizni were ſhut againſt Mirza Camiran, and he was therefore obliged to take refuge at Dawir, among the Patans of Hazara. Being very ill received there, he went to Bicker, to Mirza Shaw Haſſein, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and prepared to ſupport him.

Humaioon,

A. D. 1545. Hig. 952.

Humaioon, having left his ſon Akbar under the tuition of Mahummud Ali Tiggai, in Cabul, marched in perſon, in the year nine hundred and fifty three, to reduce Buduchſhan. Mirza Eadgar Naſir having attempted to ſtir up a ſedition in the royal army, was, upon conviction, ſentenced to death, though he was uncle to the king.

Humaioon marches againſt Buduchſhan.

Humaioon having paſſed Hinderkuſh and encamped at Neizikeran, Mirza Soliman, with the forces of Buduchſhan, came before him, but they were defeated in the firſt charge. The king from thence turned towards Talichan, where he fell ſick. He, however, recovered, at the end of two months, and all the factions which had begun to prevail in his army, ſoon ſubſided. Chaja Moazim, the brother of Chuli Begum *, having had a quarrel at this time with Chaja Reſhid, killed him, and fled to Cabul, where he was ordered to be impriſoned by the king.

Defeats Mirza Soliman.

Mirza Camiran having heard that his brother had marched to Buduchſhan, made an excurſion to Ghorebund. On the way he fell in with a caravan of merchants, whom he robbed of all their camels, horſes, and goods; and, coming to Ghizni, raiſed a faction among the populace, and cut off the governor, Zatrid Beg. Making from thence forced marches towards Cabul, he arrived there as they were opening the gates in the morning, and took the place by ſurprize. He killed Mahummud Ali Tiggai, the governor, as he ſtood in the bath, and put out the eyes of Faſil Beg and Mheter Vakila. The young prince Akbar, and the ladies of the Haram, were given in charge to ſome eunuchs; Hiſam ul Dien Alli, the ſon of Meer Chalifa, was put to death.

Mirza Camiran ſeizes Ghizni, and ſurprizes Cabul.

Intelligence of theſe tranſactions coming to Humaioon, that prince gave the government of Buduchſhan to Mirza Soliman, and that of Kunduz to Mirza Hindal. He himſelf returned to Cabul, defeated

* One of the ſultanas.

A. D. 1545. Hig. 952.

the army of Camiran, which oppoſed him at Zohac Ghorebund, came to the town of the Afghans, called Deh Afghân, where Shere Afkun Beg, and all the army of Mirza Camiran had again aſſembled to oppoſe him. But the king overthrew them there alſo, and ſlew Shere Afkun Beg in the action. He proceeded from thence to Cabul, and ſat down before that city, ſkirmiſhing every day with the enemy. Mirza Camiran, having received intelligence that a caravan was paſſing, wherein there was a great number of fine horſes, ſent Shere Alli, a bold enterprizing officer, with a ſtrong detachment, to ſeize and bring it into the city. Humaioon marched round the walls, and cut off Shere Alli's retreat, ſo that, when he came to enter the city, he was attacked and defeated with great ſlaughter.

Humaioon, defeating his brother in ſeveral actions, ſits down before Cabul.

Several chiefs join the king.

Mirza Soliman, from Buduchſhan, Mirza Aligh Beg, and Caſim Haſſin Sultan, with ſeveral chiefs from Byram Chan, had now joined the king, while Kirrache Chan and Baboos Beg deſerted from the city to his army. Mirza Camiran, in the rage of deſpair, baſely murdered the three ſons of Baboos Beg, and threw their mangled bodies over the wall. He, at the ſame time, bound the young prince and Kirrache Chan's ſon to a ſtake, and raiſed them up to view upon the battlements. But he was given to underſtand, that if he put them to death, every ſoul in the place ſhould be maſſacred.

Mirza Camiran's cruelty.

He evacuates Cabul.

Camiran thought proper to deſiſt from his intended cruelty, and that very night, making a breach in the wall, evacuated the place, and fled towards the ſkirts of the hills, leaving Humaioon a ſecond time, in poſſeſſion of Cabul. Mirza Camiran, in his retreat, was plundered, and even ſtript of his cloaths, by the Afghans of Hazara; but when they diſcovered him, they conducted him to his garriſon at Ghorebund. He, however, did not think himſelf ſecure there, and therefore he haſtened to Balich, where Pier Mahummud Chan, governor of that city, joined him, and aſſiſted him in ſubduing Buduchſhan. They drove Mirza Soliman and his ſon Mirza Ibrahim towards Kolâb.

Seizes upon Buduchſhan.

Kirrache

Kirrache Chan, Baboos Beg, and ſome other omrahs, being, about this time, diſguſted with the behavior of Chaja Ghazi, the vizier, wanted the king to diſgrace him, and appoint Chaja Caſim to his office. Humaioon, ſatisfied of the integrity of this miniſter, would by no means conſent, which irritated them ſo much, that they left the king's ſervice, and went over to Mirza Aſhkari in Buduchſhan. The king purſued them in their flight, but not being able to come up with them, returned to Cabul, and called to him Mirza Ibrahim and Mirza Hindal from their reſpective governments. The former having fallen in by accident with Timur Alli, one of thoſe who had fled, cut him off, and brought his head to the king. Mirza Hindal having alſo met Shere Alli, brought him back priſoner.

A. D. 1545. Hig. 952.

Several omrahs deſert Humaioon.

Mirza Camiran having left Kirrache Chan at Kuſhum, went in perſon to Taleckân. Humaioon detached Mirza Hindal and Hadgee Mahummud Koka, with a conſiderable force, to drive Kirrache Chan from thence. That omrah having received intelligence of their coming, acquainted Mirza Camiran, who, with great expedition, returned to Kuſhum, and fell in with Mirza Hindal, in croſſing the river of Talickân, when his troops were divided. He defeated Hindal, cut off a great part of his detachment, and ſeized upon all his baggage.

Mirza Camiran defeats his brother Hindal.

Humaioon, in a few days, advanced with the army from Cabul, which obliged Mirza Camiran to fly towards Talickân, and leave all his plunder, as well as his own baggage. He was, the day after his retreat, inveſted in the fort, and as he deſpaired of the aſſiſtance of the Uſbecks, to whom he had applied, he requeſted leave of his brother Humaioon, to make a pilgrimage to Mecca. Humaioon, with a good-natured weakneſs, conſented, and both the perfidious Camiran and Mirza Aſhkari came out of the place, and proceeded about ten pharſangs on their way. When they found that Humaioon did not ſend troops to ſeize them, nor attempt to detain them, as they

Flies before Humaioon.

Beſieged in Talickân, and ſubmits.

A. D. 1545. Hig. 952. they imagined, they were aſhamed of their own behavior, and thought it more elegible to truſt to his clemency, than turn mendicant pilgrims. With this reſolution they returned.

He is treated with reſpect by Humaioon.

The king having heard of their return, ſent perſons to congratulate them, and treated them with great reſpect. Humaioon, after theſe tranſactions, returned to Cabul. Pier Mahummud Chan, the Uſbeck, having made ſome incurſions into Humaioon's territories, in the year nine hundred and fifty ſix, the king determined to take, if poſſible, ſatisfaction for the affront. He, for that purpoſe, marched towards Balich. Mirza Camiran and Mirza Aſhkari accompanied him, and begun again to hatch treaſon. The king perceived their treachery, but took no effectual ſteps to prevent its effect.

His treaſonable deſigns.

Humaioon arriving in the environs of Balich, Shaw Mahummud Sultan came before him with only three thouſand Uſbeck horſe, and ſtopt his progreſs. The Uſbeck chief was, on the ſecond day, reinforced by Pier Mahummud Chan, Abdul Aziz Chan, and the princes of Haſſar, and was thus enabled to march out with thirty thouſand horſe to give battle. Mirza Soliman, Mirza Hindal, and Hadgee Mahummud Sultan, defeated the advanced parties, and preſſed ſo hard upon Pier Mahummud and Abdul Aziz Chan, that they thought proper to retreat within the city.

Humaioon defeats the Uſbecks;

The king was deſirous of purſuing the enemy. This reſolution, had it been followed, would certainly have had a good affect, as the enemy were preparing to evacuate the place. But unfortunately the king ſuffered his own better judgment to be over-ruled by his omrahs, who ſuggeſted their apprehenſions from Mirza Camiran, and adviſed the king to incamp ſomewhere near the city, which would fall into his hands in the courſe of things. This pernicious advice was accordingly followed. No ground proper for incamping being near, the king was obliged to retreat to a ſmall diſtance. The troops being

being ordered to move back, apprehended that danger was near; when the enemy actually conſtrued the retreat of Humaioon into a real flight. By this double miſtake the Moguls were intimidated, and the Uſbecks received freſh ſpirits. They immediately fell upon Mirza Soliman and Huſſein Cooli Sultan, who brought up the rear, forced them upon the main body, where the king commanded in perſon. He gallantly oppoſed them hand to hand, and with his ſpear diſmounted the officer who led on the attack. His brother Hindal, Tirdi Beg, and Tolick Chan Couchi ſupported Humaioon with great bravery; but they ſoon found themſelves deſerted by all their troops, and were obliged to ſave themſelves by flight. A. D. 1545. Hig. 952. and is, in his turn, overthrown.

After this unfortunate action, the imperial army retreated towards Cabul. The king, on his way, was deſerted by the perfidious Mirza Camiran and Mirza Aſhkari, who had not joined in the action. The king, juſtly reſenting their behavior, wrote to Alli Beg, one of Mirza Camiran's omrahs, and made him great promiſes if he would ſeize his maſter, and ſend him priſoner to court; diſpatching, at the ſame time, ſent Mirza Soliman and Hindal in purſuit of him. Retreats to Cabul, and is deſerted by his brother Camiran.

Mirza Camiran, laying aſide all his enſigns of ſtate, attempted, by the way of Zohac and Bamia, to paſs to Sind. The king, informed of his motions, ſent a party to intercept him; but Kirrache Chan and Haſim Huſſein Sultan, who had remained with Humaioon, wrote privately to Camiran, and acquainted him with all that paſt. Theſe perfidious omrahs, being now aſhamed of no villainy, told Camiran, that, as the greateſt part of the king's troops were detached from his perſon, if he would return, they would join him in the action. Camiran did not let this favorable opportunity ſlip through his hands. He returned, by the way of Kipchach, whither, the king, having intelligence of him, advanced to meet him. The battle was no ſooner begun, than Kirrache Chan, and his perfidious adherents, went over to him, and turned upon Humaioon, who, with a few faithful friends, fought

A. D. 1545. Hig. 952. fought with great reſolution. Pier Mahummud Achtey, and Ahmed, the ſon of Mirza Kulli, being ſlain by the king's ſide, and he himſelf wounded in the head, as well as his horſe, he was forced to abandon the field, and to fly to Bamia, and from thence to Buduchſhan, leaving Camiran to poſſeſs himſelf, a third time, of Cabul.

Humaioon in great diſtreſs.

Humaioon was now in great diſtreſs, for money to pay the few troops, who had continued faithful to his fortunes. Hē was obliged to borrow the horſes, camels, and merchandize of ſome great caravans, with which he mounted and paid his troops. He privately ſent Shaw Biddagh, Toglich Chan Kouchi, Mudgnow Chan, and others, to the number of ten perſons, to ſupport his intereſt at Cabul, and to ſend him intelligence of what paſſed in that city. But of all theſe, Toglick Chan alone remained true to his intereſt, which they now found was greatly declined. Mirza Soliman, Mirza Ibrahim, and his brother Hindal, returning with their detachments to join the king, he found himſelf again in a condition to make an attempt to recover his kingdom; and he accordingly marched towards Cabul.

Defeats Camiran.

Mirza Camiran, upon the approach of Humaioon, came out, and drew up on the banks of the Punger. Camiran was defeated with great ſlaughter, and in his flight he was obliged to ſhave his head and beard, to eſcape, in the diſguiſe of a mendicant, to the mountains of Limgaan. Mirza Aſhkari was taken priſoner, and the perfidious Kirrache Chan was killed in the engagement.

Returns to Cabul.

Humaioon now returned in triumph to Cabul; where he enjoyed a whole year in peace and feſtivity. Intelligence was brought to him, that the reſtleſs Mirza Camiran was again at the head of fifteen hundred horſe, while Hadgee Mahummud Chan and Baba Kiſhka fled from the royal preſence to Ghizni. The king marched againſt his brother, who fled towards the Nilab; ſo that Humaioon, without effecting any thing, returned to Cabul.

Mirza

A. D. 1551. Hig. 958.

Mirza Camiran no ſooner heard of his brother's retreat, than he returned again among the Afghans to raiſe up more diſturbances. Humaioon was under the neceſſity of taking the field a ſecond time. He wrote to Byram Chan, at Candahar, to march againſt Hadjee Mahummud Chan, who fled to Ghizni, and invited Mirza Camiran to join him at that place. Camiran, by the way of Peſhawir, Bungiſh, and Curvez, was then on his march towards Ghizni: But before his arrival, Byram Chan had come to Ghizni, and carried Hadjee Mahummud Chan priſoner to Cabul. Mirza Camiran, diſappointed of his ally, returned again to Peſhawir, and the king directed his march to Cabul.

Camiran raiſes diſturbances among the Afghans.

Tranſactions at Cabul.

Before the arrival of Humaioon at his capital, Hadjee Mahummud found means to eſcape, a ſecond time, to Ghizni, from whence he was perſuaded to return; no doubt, upon the moſt ſacred aſſurances of pardon. Mirza Aſhkari having preferred a petition to the king, ſoliciting his releaſement from priſon, in order to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca, was now ſent to Mirza Soliman, at Buduchſhan, to proceed to Balich. Aſhkari died in the year nine hundred and ſixty one, in his way croſſing the Arabian deſarts.

Mirza Camiran was, in the mean time, levying troops among the Afghans, and carrying on a private correſpondence with Hadjee Mahummud. The treaſon was diſcovered, and the old traitor condemned to death. Humaioon had, by this time, marched againſt Camiran; but he was ſurprized in his camp, near Chiber, the twenty firſt of Zicada, nine hundred and fifty eight, in the night; upon which occaſion Mirza Hindal loſt his life. Camiran, however, gained no advantage but the death of his brother, being overthrown by Humaioon, and obliged to take ſhelter again among the Patans. The king, after this victory, returned to Cabul, and in gratitude to the memory of Hindal, who had ſo well expiated his former diſobedience, by his ſervices and blood, he gave the daughter of that prince, Rickia Sultana Begum, to his ſon Akbar in marriage. He conferred, at the ſame time, upon the royal pair, all the wealth of Hindal; and

Camiran's correſpondence with Hadjee diſcovered.

Mirza Hindal killed and Camiran defeated.

A. D. 1552. Hig. 959. appointed Akbar to the command of his uncle's troops, and to his government of Ghizni.

The Afghans rise in his favor, and are forced to expel him.

The Afghans, a few months after theſe tranſactions, roſe in favor of Camiran. The king marched into their country, which he laid waſte with fire and ſword. Finding, at laſt, that they got nothing but miſchief to themſelves by adhering to Camiran, they with-held their aid, and expelled him from their country.

He flies to Selim Shaw.

The deſolate Camiran fled to Hindoſtan, and was reduced to ſolicit the protection of Selim Shaw, whom he beheld, by his own baſeneſs, ruling his father's empire. But it was not expected that Selim would treat Camiran favorably. The unfortunate fugitive fled from the court of Delhi, and, like a poor vagabond, ſought protection from the raja of Nagercot. Being from thence hunted by Selim Shaw, he fled among the Gickers.

Mirza Hyder, in the mean time, requeſted the aſſiſtance of Humaioon, to quell ſome diſturbances in Caſhmire. The king accordingly marched towards Hindoſtan, and croſſed the Nilâb. Sultan Adam, the prince of the Gickers, fearing the king's reſentment, for giving protection to Mirza Camiran, impriſoned the unhappy man, and acquainted the king, that he was ready to deliver him over to any body he ſhould be pleaſed to ſend. The king diſpatched Monim Chan to Sultan Adam, and Mirza Camiran was accordingly given up to him, and brought to the king.

Mirza Camiran delivered up to the king.

The Chagittais, to a man, ſolicited that he ſhould be put to death, that he might diſtreſs them no more; but the king would, by no means, conſent to embrue his hands in the blood of his brother, however deſerving he was of death. Humaioon, on account of his lenity, was threatened with a general ſedition in his army, and every body openly complained of that merciful diſpoſition in the king, by which his ſubjects were ſo often involved in misfortunes. He was, at laſt, though much againſt his will, neceſſitated to permit them to render Camiran blind, by means of antimony.

At the general requeſt of the army his eyes are put out.

Some

A. D. 1553. Hig. 961.

Some days after this ſentence was executed upon the unfortunate prince, the king went to ſee him. Camiran immediately roſe, and walked ſome ſteps forward to meet him, ſaying: "The glory of the "king will not be diminiſhed by viſiting the unfortunate." Humaioon immediately burſting into tears, wept very bitterly: Mirza Camiran endeavored to comfort him, by confeſſing the juſtice of his own puniſhment, and, by way of expiating his crimes, requeſted leave to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca. His requeſt was granted, and he proceeded by the way of Sind. Having reſided three years in Mecca, he died in that place, in the year nine hundred and ſixty four. He left one ſon, Abul Carim, who was ſome time after his father's death aſſaſſinated, by the order of Akbar, in the fort of Gualier; Camiran had alſo three daughters.

The king viſits him.

Camiran goes on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and dies there.

Humaioon being now delivered from the reſtleſs ſpirit of Camiran, began to extend his dominions. He firſt turned his arms towards Caſhmire. Selim Shaw having, at that time, advanced to Punjaab, his omrahs repreſented to Humaioon, that, if he ſhould enter Caſhmire, as there was but one paſs through which he could return; that Selim Shaw might block up his rear, and reduce him to great diſtreſs. The king, however, would not liſten to their repreſentations; but marched towards Caſhmire. Having advanced about half way, a mutiny aroſe in the army, and the greateſt part of the omrahs refuſed to proceed; while others actually returned to Cabul. This obliged Humaioon to take a circuit, by the way of Sind, ordering a fort, called Bickeram, to be built in his rout. In Bickeram he left a garriſon under Secunder Chan.

Humaioon marches towards Caſhmire.

Returns.

When the king arrived in Cabul, he ſent his ſon Akbar to his government of Ghizni, under the charge of Jellal ul dien Mamood. In the year nine hundred and ſixty-one, the king had another ſon born to him at Cabul, whom he named Mahummud Hakîm.

Akbar ſent to his government of Ghizni.

In the courſe of this year, Humaioon was rendered jealous of Byram Chan, by the calumny of ſome of his courtiers, who pretended, that that great man was carrying on intrigues with the Perſian govern-

A. D. 1554. Hijr. 962. Humaioon marches to Candahar.

ment. The King marched towards Candahar, by the way of Ghizni. Byram Chan, who was quite innocent of the charge, when he heard of the King's approach, came out, with five or six friends only, to congratulate him upon his arrival, and to lay his offerings at his feet. The king ſoon plainly perceived that he had been abuſed, and ſatisfying Byram Chan with reaſons for his coming, ſpent two months there in feſtivity. The calumniators of Byram Chan were diſgraced, and he himſelf loaded with favors. Byram Chan was, however, afraid, that the repeated calumnies of his enemies might find way at laſt into the king's mind; he therefore earneſtly requeſted, that the government ſhould be beſtowed on ſome other omrah, and that he might be permitted to attend his ſovereign. But the king would by no means conſent to a thing, which might have the appearance of a ſlur upon the conduct of his faithful ſervant. When they parted, Byram Chan obtained the diſtrict of Dawir for Bahadur Chan and Shubiani Chan, who remained with him.

The inhabitants of Delhi and Agra invite him to Hindoſtan.

Much about this time an addreſs was received from the inhabitants of Delhi and Agra, acquainting Humaioon, that Selim Shaw was dead, and that all the tribes of the Patans were engaged in a civil war: That it was, therefore, a proper opportunity for the king to return and take poſſeſſion of his empire. Humaioon was in no condition to raiſe a ſufficient army for that enterprize, and he became extremely melancholy.

Humaioon communicates his uneaſineſs to his omrahs.

The king being one day upon a hunting party, told ſome of his omrahs, that he was very uneaſy in his mind, about the execution of his deſigns upon Hindoſtan. Some of them, who were deſirous to make the attempt, conſulted among themſelves, and hit upon a ſucceſsful ſtratagem to bring the king to an immediate reſolution. They therefore told him, that there was an old method of divination, by ſending a perſon before, and aſking the names of the three firſt perſons he met, from which a concluſion, good or bad, might be formed, according to their meaning. The king, being naturally ſuperſtitious, ordered this to be done. He ſent three horſemen in front, who were

A curious method of divination.

to

to come back and acquaint him of the anſwers they received. The first horſeman who returned told the king, that he had met with a traveller whoſe name was Dowlat *. The next brought advice, that he met a man who called himſelf Murâd †. And the third, that he met with a villager, whoſe name was Sâdit ‡. A. D. 1554. Hig. 962.

The king diſcovered great joy upon this occaſion, and though he could only collect fifteen thouſand horſe, determined to undertake an expedition into Hindoſtan. He left to Monim Chan the government of Cabul, and the tuition of his young ſon Mahummud Hakim, and in the month of Siffer, nine hundred and ſixty-two, began his march from his capital. The king was joined at Peſhawir by Byram Chan, with all his veterans from Candahar. When he had croſſed the Nilab §, he appointed Byram Chan his captain general, and ordered him to lead the van with Chaja Chizer Chan, Tirdi Beg Chan, Secunder Sultan, and Alli Koli Shubiani. Humaioon reſolves to invade Hindoſtan. Croſſes the Nilab.

Upon the approach of the king, Tatar Chan, who commanded the new fort of Rhotas, evacuated the place and fled to Delhi. Humaioon purſued Tatar to Lahore, which place was alſo evacuated by the Patans, and the king peaceably entered the city. From Lahore he diſpatched Byram Chan to Sirhind, and that able general poſſeſſed himſelf of all the country as far as that place. Rhotas evacuated. He enters Lahore.

The king having received intelligence, that a body of Afghans, commanded by Shubas Chan and Niſir Chan, were aſſembled at Dibalpoor, he ordered Shaw Abul Mali, whom he uſed to honor with the name of ſon, with a ſtrong detachment againſt them. Abul Mali having overthrown them, returned with the plunder of their camp to Lahore. The Emperor Secunder Shaw had, in the mean time, ordered Tatar Chan and Hybut Chan, with an army of thirty or forty thouſand horſe from Delhi, againſt Humaioon; but Byram Chan, notwithſtanding their great ſuperiority in number, was determined to riſque a battle, croſſed the Suttuluz, advanced boldly to meet them, and pitched his camp upon the banks of the river of Bidgwarrah. Defeats ſome Afghans at Dibalpoor. Secunder Shaw ſends an army againſt Humaioon,

* Fortune or proſperity. † Deſire or inclination. ‡ Happineſs.
§ The weſtern branch of the Indus.

It

A. D. 1554. Hig. 962. It being winter, the Patans kindled great fires of wood in their camp, which Byram obſerving, he croſſed the river with a thouſand choſen horſe, and advancing near their camp without being diſcovered, began to gall thoſe who crouded round the fires with arrows, which raiſed an uproar in the camp. But the Patans, inſtead of extinguiſhing their fires, which prevented them from ſeeing the enemy, while the enemy had a fair view of them, by means of the light, threw on more wood. In the mean time, the whole of Byram Chan's army having croſſed the river, fell upon the enemy from all ſides, routed them, and took all their elephants, baggage, and a number of horſes.

which is overthrown by Byram Chan,

who poſſeſſes himſelf of the country to the gates of Delhi.

Byram Chan ſent the elephants to the king, at Lahore, and encamped at Matchiwarrah. He diſperſed detachments on all ſides, and poſſeſſed himſelf of all the country, almoſt to the walls of Delhi. The king was greatly rejoiced when he heard of this victory, and conferred upon Byram Chan the title of Chan Chanan, Eâr Oſſadar, Humdum Ghumguſar *.

Secunder Shaw marches againſt the Moguls.

When the news arrived of the overthrow of Tatar Chan, Secunder Shaw exacted an oath of fidelity from his omrahs, and marched with eighty thouſand horſe, a great train of artillery, and a number of elephants, towards Punjaab. Byram Chan thought proper to ſhut himſelf up in Sirhind, and to provide againſt a ſiege, by laying in proviſions, and throwing up new works. Secunder Shaw encamped before Sirhind, and Byram Chan ſent continual letters to Lahore, to haſten the king to his relief. Humaioon accordingly marched, joined Byram, made repeated ſallies from the city, and greatly diſtreſſed the enemy in their camp.

Humaioon joins his general Byram, at Sirhind.

Upon the laſt day of Rigib, when the young prince Akbar was going the rounds of the camp, the Patans drew up their forces, and offered battle. This had the intended effect on the impetuous young prince, who could not bear to be inſulted. He accordingly having obtained his father's permiſſion, drew out the army. Humaioon gave

Prince Akbar marſhals the Mogul army.

* Theſe titles ſignify, the lord of lords, the grateful friend, and the grief-expelling companion.

the

the command of the right to Chan Chanan, and the left to Secunder Chan, which was compoſed of the troops of Abdulla Chan Uſbeck, Shaw Abul Mali, Alla Kulla Chan Bahader, and Tirdi Beg Chan, who were to begin the action. He took poſt in perſon in the center, and advanced ſlowly towards the enemy, who waited the attack. The left wing having charged, according to the orders which they had received, the enemy were broke, and they never after recovered from the confuſion into which they were thrown. The action, however, continued warm for ſome time; Humaioon and his gallant general Chan Chanan diſplayed great conduct, while the young prince Akbar diſtinguiſhed himſelf with acts of perſonal valor. The Moguls were ſo animated by the behavior of that young hero, that they ſeemed even to forget that they were mortal men. The enemy, at laſt, were driven off the field, with very great ſlaughter, and Secunder Shaw fled, with precipitation, to the mountains of Sewalic.

A. D. 1554. Hig. 962.

The battle begins.

The Patans overthrown.

This victory decided the fate of the empire, which fell for ever from the Patans. Secunder Chan, the Uſbeck, and ſome other omrahs were detached to take poſſeſſion of Delhi and Agra, which they effected without oppoſition. Humaioon conferred the government of the province of Punjaab upon Abul Mali, and ordered him to purſue Secunder Shaw.

The empire transferred from the Patans to the Moguls.

In the month of Ramzan the king entered Delhi, in triumph, and became, a ſecond time, Emperor of Hindoſtan. Byram Chan, to whoſe valor and conduct the king, in a great meaſure, owed his reſtoration, was now rewarded with the firſt offices in the ſtate, and had princely jagiers aſſigned to him. Tirdi Beg Chan was appointed to the government of Delhi; the ſuperintendency of Agra was given to Secunder Chan, and Alli Kulli Chan was made viceroy of Merat and Simbol; for which department he ſet out with a conſiderable force.

The king enters Delhi.

Promotions at court.

As Shaw Abul Mali, on account of diſputes with the omrahs in his army, had permitted Secunder Shaw to become daily more formidable, the king diſpatched his ſon Akbar, under the direction of Byram Chan, againſt him. Much about this time, a man of low birth,

Akbar ſent againſt Secunder Shaw.

A. D. 1555. Hig. 963. birth, who became famous, under the name of Kumber Drivan, raiſed a rebellion in Simbol, and, collecting a great force, plundered the provinces between the rivers. He was, however, on the fifth of Ribbi ul Awil, nine hundred and ſixty three, defeated and ſlain by Alli Kulli, and the inſurrection totally quaſhed.

The king's death. In the evening of the ſeventh of Ribbi ul Awil, Humaioon walked out upon the terrace of the library, and ſat down there for ſome time to enjoy the freſh air. When the Emperor began to deſcend the ſteps of the ſtair from the terrace, the crier, according to cuſtom, proclaimed the time of prayers. The king, conformable to the practice of religion, ſtood ſtill upon this occaſion, and repeated the Culma *, then ſat down upon the ſecond ſtep of the ſtair till the proclamation ſhould be ended. When he was going to riſe he ſupported himſelf upon a ſtaff, which unfortunately ſlipt upon the marble, and the king fell headlong from the top to the bottom of the ſtair. He was taken up inſenſible, and laid upon his bed; he ſoon recovered his ſpeech, and the phyſicians adminiſtered all their art: But in vain, for upon the eleventh, about ſunſet, his ſoul took her flight to Paradiſe. He was buried in the new city, upon the banks of the river; and a noble tomb was erected over him, ſome years after, by his ſon Akbar. Humaioon died at the age of fifty one, after a reign of twenty five years, both in Cabul and Hindoſtan.

His character. The mildneſs and benevolence of Humaioon were exceſſive: If there can be any exceſs in virtues ſo noble as theſe. His affection to his brothers proved the ſource of all his misfortunes; but they rewarded him with ingratitude and contempt. He was learned, a lover of literature, and the generous patron of the men of genius, who flouriſhed in his time. In battle he was valiant and enterprizing: But the clemency of his diſpoſition hindered him from uſing his victories in a manner which ſuited the vices of the times. Had he been leſs mild and religious, he would have been a more ſucceſsful prince: Had he been a worſe man, he would have been a greater monarch.

* The Creed.

THE

PART VI.

The Reign of SHAW JUMJA ABUL MUZIFFER GELLAL UL DIEN MAHUMMUD AKBAR PADSHAW GHAZI.

SECTION I.

The Hiſtory of AKBAR, from his Acceſſion to the Defeat and Death of HIMU.

SHECH ABUL FAZIL, the moſt elegant writer of Hindoſtan, has given to the world the hiſtory of the renowned Akbar, in three volumes, called Akbar namma. From that hiſtorian, we ſhall chiefly extract the tranſactions of this reign. A. D. 1555. Higer. 963.

When Humaioon became inſenſible after his fall, the Omrahs ſent Shech Chuli expreſs to Punjab, to acquaint Akbar of the accident which had befallen his father. Not many days after, the news of his father's death came to the prince at Callanore. The Omrahs, who were preſent, after expreſſing their grief for the deceaſed, raiſed Akbar to the throne, on the Mahummud Akbar mounts the throne at Callanore.

A. D. 1555. Higer. 963.

second of Rubbi ul Sani, in the year 963, being then thirteen years and nine months old.

Byram's wife adminiſtration.

Byram Chan, on the acceſſion of Akbar, became abſolute regent, and had the whole civil and military power of the empire in his hands. The firſt orders iſſued from the throne, after diſpatching the letters of proclamation, were, to prohibit the exaction of Peſhcuſh money, from the farmers; to let all goods paſs toll-free, and to prevent the injurious practice of preſſing labourers to the war.

Abul impriſoned at Lahore.

Not many days after the acceſſion of Akbar, Shaw Abul Mali, who began to diſcover treaſonable intentions, was ſeized and impriſoned in Lahore. He, however, found means, ſome time after, to eſcape; and Pulwan Gul, the Cutwal, to whoſe charge he was committed, killed himſelf.

Akbar defeats Secunder Shaw.

The king led his army towards the hills, with a view to exterminate the party of Secunder Shaw: he defeated Secunder, and obliged him to fly farther among the mountains; whither the imperial army could not purſue him. Akbar, in the mean time, ſubdued the country of Nagracot; received the Raja of that province into favor; and the rains coming on, took up his quarters at Jallender.

Mirza Soliman rebels in Buduchſhan.

In the mean time, Mirza Solimân, who had been left governor of Buduchſhan, threw off his allegiance, ſet up for himſelf, and marched againſt Cabul. That city was defended by Monim Chan, the tutor of Mahammud Hakim, the king's brother. Intelligence of this rebellion being brought to Akbar, he immediately detached Mahummud Kulli Chan Burlaſs, Chan Azim, Chizer Chaja, and other Omrahs, to ſuccour Monim Chan.

Some

Some of thoſe Omrahs entered Cabul, while others encamped without, to harraſs the beſiegers; which they continued to do for the ſpace of four months. The garriſon, in the mean time, became to be diſtreſſed for proviſions; which obliged Monim Chan, to conſent, that the chutba, for the kingdom of Cabul, ſhould be read in the name of Solimân. The rebel, after this ſubmiſſion, raiſed the ſiege, and returned to Buduchſhan. A. D. 1555. Higer. 963.

During theſe tranſactions at Cabul, Himu, the vizier of Mahummud Shaw Adili, of Bengal, advanced towards Agra, with thirty thouſand horſe and two thouſand elephants. He obliged Secunder Chan, the governor of that city, to retreat to Delhi. Shadi Chan, an Afghan Omrah of Shaw Adili, in the mean time, raiſed an army, and advanced to the banks of the Rehib; where Alli Kulli Chan Seiſtani, entituled Chan Ziman, with three thouſand horſe, croſſing the river, attacked him, but was defeated; and carried only two hundred of his army, alive, from the field; thoſe who eſcaped the ſword, being drowned in the river. Cabul ſubmits to him. Himu, the vizier of Shaw Adili, takes Agra,

Himu having taken Agra, marched towards Delhi, where Tirdi Chan commanded. Tirdi ſent expreſſes to all the Omrahs around, ſoliciting ſuccours, and was joined by Abdulla Chan, Lal Sultan Buduchſhi, Alli Kulli Inderani, Merick Chan Kullâbi, and others; and then he thought himſelf in a condition to give the enemy battle, without waiting for Chan Ziman; who, with ſeveral other Omrahs, and a conſiderable reinforcement, was marching to his aſſiſtance. Himu, who was a very valiant man, ſelected three thouſand choſen horſe, and ſome of his beſt elephants, which he poſted about his own perſon in the center; and with which he charged Tirdi Beg ſo violently, that he drove him quite off the field. Himu then fell, with great impetuoſity, upon advances to Delhi, defeats Tirdi Beg, and takes Delhi.

A. D. 1555. Higer. 963.

upon the right wing, which he routed ſo that the flight became general. This victory was ſo compleat, that in conſequence of it, the city immediately ſurrendered; and Tirdi Beg, flying to Sirhind, left all the country open to the enemy. Chan Zimaul having received intelligence of this diſaſter, at Merat, haſtened alſo to Sirhind.

The king in great perplexity.

Devolves his power upon Byram Chan.

The king, during theſe tranſactions, was at Jallender; and, finding all his dominions, except Punjab, wreſted from him, was greatly affected with the news of Himu's ſucceſs. He called to him Byram Chan, then diſtinguiſhed by the name of Chan Chanan, and conferred upon him the honorable title of Chan Baba*. He told that able man, that he repoſed his whole truſt in his prudence and good conduct, in this perilous ſituation of affairs, and deſired that he might take whatever meaſures he thought moſt conducive to retrieve his affairs. He, at the ſame time, aſſured Byram, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he would give no attention to any malicious inſinuations which might be ſuggeſted to the royal ear by his enemies. The young prince having thus expreſſed the genuine ſentiments of his ſoul to Byram, he made him ſwear, by the ſoul of his father Humaioon, and by the head of his own ſon, that he would be faithful to the great truſt, which was now repoſed in him.

A council of war is called.

A council of war was immediately called, in which Byram Chan preſided. The majority of the Omrahs were of opinion, that as the enemy conſiſted of above a hundred thouſand horſe, while the royal army ſcarce amounted to twenty thouſand, it would be moſt prudent to retreat to Cabul. Byram Chan ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this meaſure, and was almoſt ſingular in his

* Baba ſignifies father.

opinion,

opinion, which was to give battle inſtantly to the enemy. The young king joined Byram's ſentiments with ſo much warmth and gallant anxiety, that the Omrahs cried out, in rapture, that their lives and fortunes were at his ſervice. A. D. 1555. Higer. 963. It is reſolved to engage the enemy.

Immediate hoſtilities being reſolved upon, Chaja Chizer Chan, who was married to the king's aunt, Gulbaddin Begum, was appointed governor of Lahore, to act againſt Secunder Shaw; while the king himſelf prepared, in perſon, to chaſtiſe Himu. He marched to Sirhind, and was there joined by his defeated Omrahs, who had aſſembled at that place. The king marches againſt Himu.

The king being out, one day, at the diverſion of hawking, Byram Chan, called Tirdi Beg to his tent, and ordered him to be beheaded for abandoning Delhi, where he might have defended himſelf, and for other unmilitary crimes, with which he was juſtly charged. When Akbar returned, Byram Chan waited upon him, and informed him of what he had done; he excuſed himſelf for not acquainting the king of his intentions, by inſinuating, that he was certain his royal clemency was ſo great, that notwithſtanding Tirdi's crimes, he would have forgiven him; which, at ſuch a time, would be attended with very dangerous conſequences, as the hopes of the Moguls reſted upon every individual's ſtrict performance of duty. He affirmed, that negligence was, in ſuch a critical ſituation, as great a crime as treaſon, and ought to meet with an equal puniſhment. But that, on the other hand, deſert ſhould meet with reward: for a dangerous criſis, is the ſeaſon of ſtrict juſtice, in both reſpects. Without his reward, the ſoldier becomes languid and diſcontented; when he fears no puniſhment, he becomes negligent and inſolent. Byram Chan puniſhes Tirdi Beg.

The

A. D. 1556. Higer. 964.

The king ſaw into the propriety of the meaſure, but he ſhuddered at the inhumanity of the puniſhment. He, however, thanked Byram for the ſervice which he had done him; and, indeed, though the policy of that miniſter was ſevere, it had the intended effect among the Omrahs. They ſaw that they had nothing to hope, and every thing to fear from faction and bad behaviour; and therefore, they became very obedient to the orders of Byram Chan.

Akbar marches towards Delhi.

The king ſoon after marched from Sirhind towards Delhi, detaching Secunder Chan, Abdulla Chan, Alla Kulli Inderani, Lal Sultan, Mahummud Chan Jellaher, Mudjenu Chan Caſhkal, and others, under the command of Chan Ziman, Amir ul Omrah *, ſome miles in his front. Himu, who had aſſumed the title of Raja Bickermajit, in Delhi, having attached Shadi Chan, and other Afghan Omrahs to his intereſt, marched out of that city with all his forces; which, by the loweſt computation, exceeded a hundred thouſand horſe, beſides elephants and infantry, with a great train of artillery. He detached, in front, a great body of Afgans, with ſome artillery, which falling in with Chan Ziman, were defeated by that general, with the loſs of all their guns, which proved a ſignal advantage to the king.

The vanguard of the Afgans defeated.

Himu arrives at Panniput.

Himu having arrived at Panniput, heard that the king was advanced very near him. He divided his elephants, in which he greatly confided, among his principal officers.

A general action.

In the morning of the ſecond of Mohirrim, 964, Chan Ziman, who had been, by that time, joined by the whole army except a few, who remained to guard the king, drew up in order of battle, and waited the attack. Himu began the action with his

* Captain-general.

elephants,

elephants, in hopes of frightening the Mogul cavalry, who were not accuſtomed to thoſe enormous animals. He, however, found that he was deceived. The Chigittai Omrahs, either from a fear of the fate of Tirdi Beg, or from a nobler cauſe, their own valor, attacked Himu, with ſuch reſolution, after he had penetrated the center of the Mogul army, where Ziman commanded, that the elephants, galled with lances, arrows and javelines, became quite outrageous, and ſubmitting no longer to command, fell back and diſordered the Afgan ranks. A. D. 1555. Higer. 564. The Afgans broke.

Himu, who rode a prodigious elephant, ſtill continued the action with great vigor, at the head of four thouſand horſe, in the very heart of the Moguls; being at laſt, pierced through the eye, with an arrow, the greateſt part of his troops, fearing that his wound was mortal, forſook him. But that valiant man, drew the eye out of the ſocket, with the arrow; and, in that terrible condition, continued the fight with unequalled reſolution and courage. He encouraged the few who remained by his ſide, and advanced through a bloody path which his weapons made; till Kulli Chan Mhiram ſtretched his ſpear to kill the driver of Himu's elephant: that timorous wretch, to ſave his own life, pointed to Himu, and addreſſing him, by name, ſaid, he would carry him whitherſoever he pleaſed. Kulli Chan, immediately furrounded him with a body of horſe, and carried him priſoner to Akbar, whom Byram Chan, as upon him reſted the hopes of all, detained in the rear. The bravery of Himu. He is taken priſoner,

When the unfortunate Himu was brought into the preſence, almoſt expiring with his wounds, Byram Chan told the king, that it would be a meritorious action in him, to kill that brave infidel with his own hand. Akbar, in compliance to the advice of his tutor, drew his ſword, but only gently touched the head and ſlain.

A. D. 1556. Higer. 964.

of Himu, burſting into tears of compaſſion. Byram, looking ſternly upon the king, inſinuated, that the ill-timed clemency of his family, was the ſource of all their misfortunes, and with one ſtroke of the ſabre, ſevered Himu's head from his body.

Akbar arrives at Delhi.

Akbar took, in this action, fifteen hundred elephants, and all the artillery of the enemy. He immediately marched from the field, and took poſſeſſion of Delhi. From that city, he diſpatched Mullu Pier Mahummud Shirwani, manager of the private affairs of Byram, towards Mewat, to ſeize the treaſure of Himu, which was depoſited in that place. This ſervice was accompliſhed, with ſome loſs on the ſide of the Moguls; and the empire, in ſome meaſure, returned to its former tranquillity.

SECTION II.

The Hiſtory of SULTAN AKBAR, from the Death of HIMU, to that of BYRAM CHAN.

The Perſians beſiege and take Kandahar.

SULTAN HUSSEIN, the grandſon of Shaw Iſmaiel Suffvi advanced, this year, by the orders of Shaw Tamaſp of Iran, and laid ſiege to Kandahar. After a ſharp engagement, before the walls, with Mahummud Kandahari, who commanded in the place, as deputy of Byram Chan, the city fell into the hands of the Perſians. Chizer Chaja Chan was, at the ſame time, defeated by Secunder Shaw, and obliged to fly to Lahore.

The king marches towards Punjab.

The king, having received intelligence of this double diſaſter, put his army in motion, and marched towards Punjab. Secunder Shaw, who had advanced as far as Callanore, retreated upon the kings's

king's approach, to the fort of Mancot, which had been built by Selim Shaw. Akbar beſieged Secunder, in that fortreſs, for the ſpace of ſix months: he then began to treat about ſurrendering the place, upon conditions; and Chan Azim being ſent into the fort to ſettle the terms of capitulation, Secunder propoſed to that Omrah, to give his ſon, as a hoſtage to the king, for his future obedience, if he himſelf ſhould be permitted to retire to Bengal. This being granted, on the part of Akbar, Sheck Abul Rhiman, the ſon of Secunder Shaw, was, in the month of Ramzan, 964, brought to the king, with preſents, conſiſting chiefly of elephants. Secunder Shaw was permitted to retire to Bengal, and Mancot was delivered up to Akbar. The king left a truſty governor in the place, and proceeded to Lahore.

A. D. 1556. Higer. 964.

Beſieges Secunder Shaw in Mancot, and takes that place by capitulation.

Byram Chan, being privately diſguſted at favors which the king had conferred upon ſome perſons, whom he ſuſpected to be enemies to himſelf, for ſome days, refuſed to come to court. The king, in the mean time, happened to amuſe himſelf with an elephant fight, and the outrageous animals chanced to run over the tents of Byram Chan. The miniſter immediately ſuſpected, that this was done deſignedly by the king, and he ſent to acquaint him: "That he was ſorry to ſee that he had diſobliged the king: but that, if he deſerved Akbar's diſlike, he would be glad to know the crime he had committed, that he might be the better able to make his excuſe, and then, retire for ever from the preſence." The king was touched with an imputation, which his ſoul abhorred; but he condeſcended to acquaint Byram, that the circumſtance, from which his ungenerous ſuſpicions aroſe, was a mere accident. This, however, did not ſatisfy Byram Chan, who ſtill continued to ſuſpect that the king's mind was eſtranged from him.

Byram Chan diſguſted with the king.

A.D. 1556. Higer. 964.

Vindictive diſpoſition of Byram.

The king, ſoon after this tranſaction, marched from Lahore to Delhi. Chaja Callan, who was proud of his family, and of the ſignal ſervices which he had rendered to the king, ſet himſelf up to oppoſe Byram Chan in his adminiſtration. That vindictive miniſter, to get rid of his antagoniſt, condemned him to death upon very ſlight pretences, which raiſed great commotions among the Omrahs. The king alſo expreſſed his diſlike of this violent proceeding; for the whole had been done without his orders.

Breach between him and the king.

Upon this occaſion, high words aroſe between the king and his miniſter; and the former, in a few days, ſet out for Agra. Though the king did not diſcover what had paſſed between him and Byram, the cauſe of his journey was no ſecret at court. The people ſided with their young king, in this quarrel, and the power of the miniſter began to decline viſibly every day. The enraged Byram, in the mean time, endeavored to recover his authority by rigor and ſeverity.

He puniſhes the inſolence of Pier Mahummud.

Much about this time, Mullu Pier Mahummud, who had been formerly a retainer of Byram Chan, was, on account of his great abilities, preferred to the high office of tutor to the king. He ſoon engroſſed a great ſhare of the king's favor; and the pride of advancement began to ſwell in his heart. He uſed often to make the Omrahs, who attended his levee, to wait whole hours, and, at laſt, to ſend them word that he could not ſee them: which inſolent behaviour gave great offence to many. Byram Chan himſelf was little better treated, one day, by Mahummud; and he took it ſo much amiſs, that, by virtue of his own authority, he ſent the tutor priſoner to Biana, from thence he baniſhed him to Guzerat, and there ſhipped him off for Mecca, to proſecute his devotion.

The

A. D. 1556. Higel. 964. The king being offended, Byram projects an expedition againſt Gualier.

The king was highly offended at this proceeding, as it ſeemed to debar him from even the liberty of diſpoſing of his own private favors. The artful miniſter, perceiving the Sultan's rage, projected an expedition againſt Gualier, to divert the king's attention to an other object. That fortreſs was then in the poſſeſſion of Bibil, one of the ſlaves of Selim Shaw, who held it for Mahummud Shaw Adili. Bibil, hearing of Akbar's deſign againſt him, wrote to Ram Shaw, a deſcendant of Raja Man Singh, that as his anceſtors had been maſters of Gualier, and as he did not think himſelf capable to hold out the place againſt the king, he would put it into the poſſeſſion of the Raja for a reaſonable ſum.

Gualier delivered up to Akbar.

Ram Shaw, glad at this offer, immediately moved towards the fort: but Kika Chan, who poſſeſſed a jaghier from the king in the neighbourhood of Gualier, raiſed all his vaſſals, and attacking Ram Shaw, defeated and drove him into the dominions of Rama. Kika, immediately after this victory, returned and inveſted the fortreſs. Bibil, ſeeing himſelf thus beſieged, made overtures of capitulation. The king being informed of this circumſtance, ordered Chaja Mahummud Chan, with a detachment, to give Bibil the terms he required, and to ſieze upon the fortreſs. The traitor accordingly, being gratified with ſome money and a promiſe of future favour, delivered up the important caſtle of Gualier.

Actions of Chan Ziman.

In the courſe of the ſame year, Chan Ziman, to wipe off ſome aſperſions under which he lay, exerted himſelf in a particular manner in the king's ſervice; for he ſubdued all the provinces near Jionpoor and Benaris, which till then were in the hands of the Patans.

A. D. 1556. Higer. 964. Tranſactions at court.

Sheck Mahummud Ghori, the brother of Sheck Phul, who having been firmly attached to the Chegittai, or Mogul intereſt, during the late ſupremacy of the Patans, had fled to Guzerat, this year returned to court with his family, and was very favourably received by the king, who ordered Byram Chan to provide for him in a manner ſuitable to his dignity. Mahummud Ghori truſting too much to the king's authority, neglected to pay that court to Byram Chan which that haughty miniſter expected: Byram therefore took every poſſible means to avoid to ſerve Mahummud, and made things ſo very diſagreeable to him, that he left the court and retired to his old family reſidence at Gualier.

An expedition againſt Malava.

This being repreſented to the king, revived his former diſcontent againſt Byram Chan. The artful miniſter ſoon obſerved a viſible alteration in the countenance of his ſovereign. He therefore formed an expedition againſt Malava, to turn the king's active mind from the private politics of the court. Byram accordingly called Bahadur, the brother of Chan Ziman from Debalpoor, and gave him the command of the army deſtined to act againſt Baz Bahadur, who then ruled over Malava.

Tranſactions at court.

The king much about this time went out upon a hunting party, and made a progreſs as far as Secundra, within forty miles of Delhi, between the rivers. Mahim his foſter-brother joined him there, and told him, that his mother was extremely ill at Delhi, and was very deſirous to ſee the king. He immediately ſet out for Delhi, and Shabul dien Ahmed Chan Neiſhapuri, an Omrah of five thouſand, who then commanded in the city, came out to meet Akbar with preſents: that Omrah was in great perplexity how to act. He was aſſured, that Byram Chan would impute the king's journey to Delhi to his intrigues,

Great power of Byram Chan.

and would not fail to get rid of him, as he had done of Muſuai Beg; he therefore acquainted the king of his apprehenſions, and begged he might be permitted to make a pilgrimage to Mecca. The king was very much affected upon hearing this requeſt, by obſerving how formidable the power of his miniſter was become to all his friends; but after he had conſidered the many obligations under which he and his family lay to that able man, he could not think of removing him: to leſſen however, in ſome meaſure, the apprehenſions of Ahmed Chan, the king wrote Byram that he had of his own accord proceeded to Delhi, and not at the inſtigation of any perſon, but merely to pay his reſpects to his mother; that therefore a letter from him to appeaſe the minds of thoſe who were apprehenſive of his diſpleaſure, would be extremely neceſſary. Byram Chan returned for anſwer, that "he ſhould never entertain reſentment againſt any whom the king was pleaſed to honor with his favor." He moreover ſent Hadjee Mahummud Seiſtani and Tirdi Beg to Delhi, with aſſurances of his loyalty and abſolute obedience to the king's royal pleaſure. A.D. 1557. Hijra. 965.

A faction accuſes him to the king.

In the mean time, Shabuldien Ahmed Chan finding the king diſpoſed to protect him, and to hear accuſations againſt Byram Chan, gave a looſe to his tongue one day in public againſt that miniſter. He was joined by the whole court, whom he had previouſly attached to his intereſt. In ſhort, ſo many crimes were alledged againſt Byram Chan, particularly his deſigns in favor of Abul Caſim, the ſon of Mirza Cameran, that the king was alarmed and thought it neceſſary to curtail his authority. When therefore Hadjee Mahummud and Tirdi Beg arrived, inſtead of being admitted to an audience, they were immediately impriſoned.

A breach between him and the king.

This

A. D. 1557. Higer. 965. Tranſactions at court.

This breach between the king and Byram Chan, is related with other particulars by Abul Fazil. One day at Agra, ſays that great man, one of the king's elephants in the rutting ſeaſon, attacked an elephant of Byram Chan and killed him. Byram, for this offence, commanded that the keeper of the king's elephants ſhould be put to death, without giving any notice to the ſultan. Akbar was greatly diſpleaſed with this piece of cruelty, eſpecially when he found that the poor man was innocent, having loſt all his command over the outrageous animal. Soon after, continues Abul Fazil, as Byram Chan was taking his pleaſure in a barge on the river, one of the elephants, which had been carried down to the water, run furiouſly againſt the barge, and had almoſt ſunk it, before, by the uncommon efforts of the rider, he was brought to obedience. The miniſter, naturally of a ſuſpicious and unforgiving temper, imagined that theſe were actually plots laid againſt his life; and he publickly petitioned the king to puniſh the rider of the elephant. The king, to appeaſe Byram, and to remove all ſuſpicions, ordered that the elephant-rider ſhould be ſent to him, to be puniſhed at diſcretion. But Byram, either to make an example to others, or to gratify his reſentment againſt the innocent man, who might even be ſaid to have ſaved his life, ordered him alſo to be put to death.

The king was highly incenſed by theſe two inſtances of Byram's preſumption and cruelty. His diſpleaſure became viſible to the court; and there were not wanting many, who made it their buſineſs by private inſinuations, to encreaſe his reſentment. The king, at length, came to the reſolution of depriving Byram of the reins of government, which required ſome delicacy in the preſent ſituation of affairs. Some authors mention a ſcheme ſuggeſted

A. D. 1558. Higer. 966.

ſuggeſted to Akbar by his nurſe*, upon this occaſion, to get poſſeſſion of the ſeals which were in Byram Chan's poſſeſſion. They alſo ſay, that ſhe diſcovered to him that miniſter's deſign to confine him, which ſhe had accidentally heard, in a converſation between Byram and the queen-mother. This, ſay they, was the circumſtance that determined Akbar to leave Agra. Abul Fazil mentions nothing of this affair; for that hiſtorian informs us, with greater probability, that the whole was concerted between Adam Chan and Mahim Anigah, on the part of the young king, who now began to be tired of a tutor, and thought he was capable of acting for himſelf. But to return from this digreſſion.

Byram Chan is diſgraced.

When it became public that the deputies from Byram Chan had been impriſoned by the king, every body predicted the ruin of the miniſter, and endeavoured to ſhake him off as faſt as poſſible. They flocked daily to Akbar by hundreds to Delhi. That young prince immediately iſſued a proclamation throughout the empire, that he had taken the adminiſtration upon himſelf, and that henceforth no orders, but his own, ſhould be obeyed, Byram Chan being diſmiſſed from the regency.

The king takes the adminiſtration of affairs into his own hands.

Shaw Abul Mali invades Caſhmire.

Shaw Abul Mali, who had been confined in Lahore, having before this time found means to eſcape, went to Cummâl Chan the Gicker, and engaged him in an expedition againſt Caſhmire; but they were defeated with great ſlaughter. Mali flying to Debalpoor, joined himſelf with Bahadur Chan Seiſtani, and ſtirred him up to rebel: but Bahadur Chan, repenting of his reſolution, a quarrel enſued between them, and Abul Mali was driven to Sind. From that place he fled to Guzerat, and from

He is defeated,

taken and confined.

* This was ſhe that the king went to viſit at Delhi.

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A. D. 1558. Higer. 966.

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Various ſchemes of Byram Chan.

Byram Chan, finding that he had no farther hopes from the king, began to form a reſolution of going to Malava, to reduce that country, and found an independant kingdom. To accompliſh his purpoſe, he proceeded to Biana, and called Bahadur Chan and other Omrahs, who had been ſent upon the expedition to Malava before him. But perceiving that he was deſerted by thoſe Omrahs, in whom he placed his chief confidence, he began to deſpair of ſucceeding in that enterprize. He, therefore, releaſed Abul Mali from his confinement, intending by his aſſiſtance and that of Chan Ziman, to attack the Patans of Bengal, and to fix himſelf in that kingdom. But before he had proceeded many days on this ſcheme, he changed his reſolution, and took the way of Nagore, with a deſign to make a pilgrimage to Mecca; upon which, Bahadur Chan, Kika Chan, and many other Omrahs, who had determined to follow his fortunes, took leave of him.

His irreſolute behaviour.

But ſo irreſolute was the unfortunate Byram become, at a time too when firmneſs, conſtancy, and perſeverance were abſolutely neceſſary, that, like a perſon infatuated, he had no ſooner reached Nagore, after having loſt all his friends, than he changed again his reſolution of going to Mecca, and began to aſſemble troops, with a view to conquer Punjab.

When the king was informed of this new ſcheme of Byram's, he ſent Meer Abdul Latîf Shuſvini, his own preceptor, with a meſſage to him to the following purpoſe. "Till now our mind has been taken up with our education, and the amuſements of youth, and it was our royal pleaſure, that you ſhould be reſponſible for our empire. But as it is now our intention to govern

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A. D. 1558. Higer. 966.

Byram Chan, upon receiving this letter, profeſſed paſſive obedience, and ſent his enſigns of ſtate, elephants, banners and drums, by the hand of Huſſen Kulli Beg Zul Kudder, to the king. He then returned to Nagore, to prepare for Mecca, being now abandoned by all his friends, except Willi Beg Zul Kuddur, Iſmaiel Kulli Chan, Shaw Kulli Chan Merhum, Haſſen Chan Tughlich, Shech Gaddai, and Chaja Muziffer Alli Jurbutti, the reſt having joined the king. Among the latter, was Abul Mali, who, coming up to Akbar when hunting, neglected to diſmount, when he made his obeiſance, for which he was immediately confined.

He reſolves to go to Mecca.

Byram Chan having proceeded on his pilgrimage as far as Bickanere, repented of his reſolution, and returned again to Nagore, where he began to aſſemble troops. The king being informed of that proceeding, marched to Jidger. Mulla Pier Mahummud, being now returned from his baniſhment, to which he had been condemned by Byram Chan, was thought a proper perſon to carry on the war againſt him. He was accordingly dignified with titles by the king, and ſent with an army towards Nagore. The king, in the mean time, returned to Delhi, and ſent orders to Monim Chan, at Cabul, to repair to court.

Repents of his reſolution, and levies forces.

Byram Chan, upon the approach of Pier Mahummud Chan, ſet out for Punjab, and was cloſely purſued by that Omrah. When he arrived at the fort of Tibberhind, he threw all his baggage into that place, which was commanded by one of his adherents, by name Shere Mahummud; but this traitor no ſooner had got Byram's effects into the place, than he began to reckon

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Byram Chan, upon the approach of Pier Mahummud Chan, ſet out for Punjab, and was cloſely purſued by that Omrah. When he arrived at the fort of Tibberhind, he threw all his baggage into that place, which was commanded by one of his adherents, by name Shere Mahummud; but this traitor no ſooner had got Byram's effects into the place, than he began to reckon He returns towards Punjab.

A. D. 1559. Higer. 967.

upon them as his own, and turned out the guard which the unfortunate miniſter had ſent to take charge of his baggage. Byram Chan ſet out from thence for Debalpoor, which was then governed by one of his old friends, Dirveſh Mahummud Uſbeck. When he came near the place, he ſent his ſecretary, Chaja Muziffer Ali, to wait upon him, but that ungrateful man, pretending to be affronted at Byram's requeſt, confined the ſecretary, and ſent him to the king. Byram Chan, who had conceived great hopes from his friendſhip, was aſtoniſhed at a behaviour ſo common to men in adverſity, and ſet out, in great perturbation of mind, towards Jallender.

Defeated.

The king had, by this time, recalled Pier Mahummud Chan, and appointed Chan Azim to reduce Punjab, and to quell the rebellion of Byram Chan. Chan Azim coming up ſoon after with Byram Chan, at Matchiwarrah, a battle enſued, which was maintained with great bravery on both ſides; Chan Azim's line being broke by the enemy: but at length, ſeveral of Byram Chan's principal officers being killed, he was defeated, and obliged to fly to the mountains of Sewalic.

Flies to the mountains of Sewalic.

After this victory, the king appointed Chaja Abdul Mugid Hirrivi to the government of Delhi, by the title of Aſiph Chan, and marched in perſon to Lahore. When Akbar had reached Ludhana, Munim Chan met him, in his way from Cabul, and being graciouſly received, was honoured with the title of Chan Chanan, and made prime miniſter of the empire.

The king purſues him into the mountains.

The king's army having advanced near the mountains of Sewalic, a detachment of light horſe entered the hills, where the Zemindars of that country, had convened in ſupport of Byram Chan to guard the paſſes: but they were driven from poſt to poſt;

upon which, Byram Chan, in great diſtreſs, ſent his ſlave Jemmal Chan to the preſence, to repreſent his unfortunate ſituation, and to implore the king's mercy. A. D. 1560. Hijri 968.

Akbar immediately diſpatched Mulla Abdulla Sultanpuri, with aſſurances of his clemency, and to bring the unhappy Byram to court. Accordingly, in the month of Ribbi ul Sani, he was received, at ſome diſtance from the camp, by a conſiderable number of Omrahs, whom the king had ordered to meet him. He was brought into the preſence with every poſſible mark of favor and diſtinction. When he appeared within ſight of the king, he hung his turban round his neck, and ſuddenly advancing, threw himſelf, in tears, at the foot of the throne. The king inſtantly ſtretched forth his hand, ordered him to riſe, and placed him in his former ſtation, at the head of the Omrahs. To diſpel at once his uneaſineſs and grief, the king honored him with a ſplendid chelat; and ſpoke to him after the following manner. "If Byram Chan loves a military life, he ſhall have the government of Calpé and Chinderi, in which he may exerciſe his martial genius: if he chuſes rather to remain at court, our favor ſhall not be wanting to the great benefactor of our family: but ſhould devotion engage the ſoul of Byram to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca, he ſhall be eſcorted in a manner ſuitable to his dignity."

Byram Chan ſubmits.

Is received with every mark of diſtinction by the King.

Byram Chan replied: "The royal confidence and friendſhip for me, muſt be now diminiſhed; nay, they are paſt the hopes of recovery. Why then ſhould I remain in the preſence? The clemency of the king is enough for me, and his forgiveneſs for my late errors, a ſufficient reward for my former ſervices. Let then the unfortunate Byram turn his face from this world to another, and purſue his pilgrimage to Mecca." The king aſſented to his

He reſolves on a pilgrimage to Mecca.

A. D. 1560. Higer. 968.

request, and ordered a proper retinue for him with 50,000 rupees a year, to ſupport his dignity. Byram ſoon after took leave of the king, who with a few attendants left the camp and went to Agra.

Takes the way of Guzerat.

Byram Chan took the way of Guzerat, with an intention to proceed by ſea to Mecca. When he arrived in the ſuburbs of the city of Guzerat, which was then governed by Muſi Chan Lodi, on the part of Acteemad Chan ſovereign of the country, he was accoſted by Mubarick Chan Lohani, whoſe father in the battle with Himu, Byram Chan had killed. The wretch pretended to embrace the unſuſpecting Byram, drew a dagger and baſely ſtabbed him to the heart. A mob of Afgans fell immediately upon Byram's retinue, and plundered them. This murder happened on the 24th of Jimmud ul Awil, in the 968th of the Higerah.

Is baſely aſſaſſinated by an Afgan chief.

SECTION III.

The Tranſactions of AKBAR from the Death of BYRAM CHAN, to the total Defeat of the rebellious USBECK Omrahs.

Akbar ſends an army againſt Malava.

TOWARDS the cloſe of the year 968, Sultan Akbar appointed Adam Chan and Pier Mahummud to command an army deſtined for the conqueſt of Malava. Bas Bahadur in whoſe hands that country was then, ſpent his time in luxurious pleaſures at Saringpoor, when he was informed of the expedition which the Moguls meditated againſt him: but the enemy had

had advanced within ten crores of his capital, before he could prevail with himſelf to quit the pillows of indolence; and then in the beſt manner the time and his own confuſion would permit, he prepared for action. But the bold Chigittal upon the firſt onſet ſhook his order of battle, and ſent him with ſtreaming eyes and a broken heart towards Burhanpoor. A. D. 1560. Hijer. 968. Which is reduced.

Adam Chan after the victory diſtributed the ſpoil and the governments of Malava among his Omrahs, reſerving the treaſure, royal enſigns, and the ladies of the Harami for himſelf. He ſent nothing except a few elephants to the king of what was cuſtomary on thoſe occaſions. Akbar fearing from this behaviour, that he entertained treaſonable intentions, put the royal ſtandard in motion towards him. When the imperial enſigns appeared before Shakeran, the governor of that fort on the part of Bas Bahadur, delivered it up to the king. The Sultan from thence made a ſudden excurſion by night, and in the morning arrived before Saringpoor. He met Adam Chan coming out with an intention to beſiege Shakeran: he permitted that Omrah to pay his reſpects, and then he carried him back to the city. Adam Chan ſuſpecting the king's diſpleaſure and the cauſe of his viſit, laid all the treaſure and ſpoil at his feet: he excuſed himſelf by alledging, that he reſerved every thing till he ſhould have the honour of preſenting them to Akbar in perſon. The king ſaw through his deſigns, but preferring clemency to rigour, he drew the pen of forgiveneſs over his crime. The king ſuſpecting Adam of treaſonable intentions, marches towards him. He ſubmits, and is pardoned.

The king ſoon after returned towards Agra; hunting one day on the way near Narvar, a great royal tygreſs with five young ones took the road before him. Akbar advanced to the animal, while his retinue ſtood trembling with fear and aſtoniſhment to behold the event. The king having meditated his blow, ſpurred Akbar kills an enormous tygreſs.

on

A. D. 1561. Higer. 969. on his horſe towards the fierce tygreſs, whoſe eyes flamed with rage, and with one ſtroke of his ſabre, cut her acroſs the loins and ſtretched her dead upon the ground. The Omrahs who were preſent, in exceſs of joy, ran to kiſs his royal ſtirrup, and offer up their thanks to God for his preſervation.

The ſon of Shaw Adili invading Jionpoor is overthrown by Chan Ziman.

The king having remained ſome months at Agra, Sheri Chan the ſon of Mahummud Shaw Adili, with 40,000 horſe, advanced from Bengal to reduce the province of Jionpoor. He was oppoſed by Chan Ziman with 12,000 horſe, and received a total defeat. Bahadur Chan the brother of Chan Ziman, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very particular manner in this action; ſo that the two brothers were eſteemed the boldeſt warriors of the age: but reckoning too much on their ſervices, they neglected to ſend to the king the elephants which they had taken in the battle, which were always conſidered as royal property.

The king diſſatisfied with Chan Ziman.

Who ſubmits himſelf to his royal clemency.

The king, though he gave to the brothers all due praiſe for their valour, would by no means permit any violation of his laws or encroachment upon his prerogative: this determined him to march towards Jionpoor, but when he had arrived at Kurrah, the brothers, ſenſible of his reſolution and their own miſbehaviour, advanced to congratulate him with all the ſpoils which they had taken, and other ſuitable preſents. The king, whoſe generoſity and clemency could be only equalled by his ſpirit, returned all, except what belonged properly to the exchequer. At the ſame time he gave them a gentle reproof for their neglect, and afterwards engaged their affections by his princely bounty and gracious favour. The king returning to Agra, on the third day's march gave the brothers permiſſion to go back to Jionpoor.

By

A. D. 1561. Higer. 969.

Promotions at court.

By the time that the king had reached Agra, Chan Azim viceroy of Punjab, and Adam Chan governor of Malava, arrived at court according to orders, with ſuitable preſents. The king gave the government of Malava to Pier Mahummud Chan, and the office of prime miniſter to Chan Azim.

The king makes a progreſs to Ajmere.

The king after theſe tranſactions in the year 969, made a progreſs to Ajmere, to viſit the ſhrine of Chaja Moin ul Dien: when Akbar arrived at Sumbre, Raja Birbil of that country gave his daughter to him in marriage, and liſted himſelf and his ſon Bowan Daſs, among the number of the king's Omrahs. When Akbar had reached Ajmere, and had performed his devotions, he ſent Mirza Shirrif ul dein Huſſein, governor of Ajmere, to inveſt the fort of Mertah, which was in the territories of Raja Maldeo of Marwar. He himſelf returned in three days and nights, with a retinue of ſix perſons only to Agra, which was a diſtance of more than one hundred and thirty crores.

Mirza Huſſein beſieges Mertah.

Mirza Huſſein having advanced near Mertah, Jig Jal and Dewan Daſs, who were principal Omrahs of that country, threw a detachment into the place and prepared for a ſiege. Mirza Huſſein inveſted the fort, and began to carry on his approaches. In a few days he extended one of his mines under a baſtion, and ſprung it, by which a practicable breach was made. He advanced in perſon with a ſelect body of troops to the aſſault, while the enemy bravely filled the breach to oppoſe him. Tho' freſh ſupplies of troops mounted from time to time, they were ſo warmly received, that Huſſein was obliged to ſound a retreat, and the next morning he found that the breach was filled up by the Rajaputs, who had continued to work, notwithſtanding the fire he had kept up the whole night. The ſiege being prolonged for ſome months, the brave garriſon were unable to hold out longer,

A. D. 1561. Higer. 969. Which is taken.

longer, and desired to capitulate; their request was granted, and the terms were, that they should march out with all their arms and horses.

Jig Jal according to these terms left all his money and effects, and marched forth; but Dewan Dass, who had been averse to the capitulation, collected five hundred of the garrison together, and having burnt all their effects, they rushed out of the place. Mirza Hussein having heard of this breach of the capitulation, ordered them to be attacked, and the Rajaputs on the other hand fought with such valour, that they cut their way through the Mogul army with the loss of two hundred and fifty of their number. Among the slain was Dewan Dass, whose head his friends carried away when they saw him mortally wounded, that it might not fall into the hands of the enemy. Mirza Hussein after having possessed himself of the fort, wrote an account of his victory to the king, and was honoured with particular favours.

Transactions in the province of Malava.

Pier Mahummud Chan *, a man of resolution, took up his residence in Shadi-abad-mendu, and carried on the war with Bas Bahadur with such success, that he entirely possessed himself of his dominions. He took the strong fort of Bijanagur, and put all the garrison to the sword, as they obliged him to risque an assault. Bas Bahadur having taken protection under the governor of Brampoor on the borders of Chandez, he sometimes by the aid of that Omrah, made incursions into the territories of Malava, and kept the country in a state of hostility. Pier Mahummud Chan was obliged to march against Brampoor, and having taken it, ordered a cruel massacre of all

* Governor of Malava.

the

the inhabitants, among whom was a number of philoſophers and learned men, who reſided in the place. A. D. 1561. Higer. 969.

Before Mahummud had left this place, Bas Bahadur having prevailed upon Miran Mubarick Shaw and Tiffâl Chan, the former prince of Candez, and the latter of Berar, to join him, advanced with a great army towards the Mogul, upon which he retreated to Bijanagur, his Omrahs being all averſe to engage. However he reſolved to halt at Bijanagur contrary to all their opinions, and to give battle to the enemy. He did it, but not being ſupported by his officers, he was defeated, and being diſmounted by a camel that attacked his horſe in croſſing the rapid river Narbudda, he was drowned. The enemy continuing the purſuit, drove the Moguls from place to place, as far as Agra, without being able to make one ſtand before them: ſo that Bas Bahadur in the year 969, recovered his whole dominions of Malava. The Mogul governor of Malava overthrown and ſlain. Malava loſt to the empire.

The king immediately after this diſaſter, appointed Abdulla Chan Uſbeck governor of Calpee, to carry on the war againſt Bas Bahadur. This Omrah drove him a ſecond time out of his country among the mountains of Comilmere. Abdulla Chan poſſeſſed himſelf of Mindu, and fixed his reſidence in that city. Malava recovered.

Seid Beg the ſon of Muſum Beg Suffavi, abſolute agent for the king of Perſia, arrived much about this time at the court of Agra, in the character of an ambaſſador, with valuable preſents, and received a preſent for himſelf of two lacks of rupees from the king. An embaſſy from Perſia.

Chan Azim Atkah Chan had by this time acquired great influence in his miniſterial office. Adam Chan envying his great- Deſigns of Adam Chan againſt the prime miniſter

A. D. 1561. Higer. 969.

neſs, attempted to bring about his ruin, as ſome courtiers had before done that of Byram Chan: but the intrigues of Adam were diſcovered, and his calumnies reverted upon his own head. Stung with diſappointed malice, he at laſt determined to act the aſſaſſin himſelf. He accordingly one day in the audience chamber, while the miniſter was reading the Koran, ſtabbed him under pretence that he took no notice of the ſalutation which Adam made him at his entrance, though he well knew, that at ſuch a time it was not cuſtomary to make or return any compliments. Adam after having committed this horrid murder, aſcended one of the terraces, and ſtood there in hopes of the king's pardon, though he might poſſibly have eſcaped.

He baſely aſſaſſinates him.

The king who had been aſleep in the Haram, hearing the noiſe that was made on this occaſion, aſked the cauſe. When they informed him of what had happened, he aroſe, and without changing his ſleeping dreſs, went up to the terrace in a great rage. He was ſtruck with horror when he ſaw the blood of his Vizier. Having approached the murderer with a ſword in his hand, he drew it half out, but reflecting upon his own dignity, he returned it again into the ſcabbard, and ſternly aſked the aſſaſſin, Why have you killed my Vizier? The wretch, fearing that the king was going to kill him, ſeized his hands. This behaviour ſo enraged Akbar, that diſengaging himſelf, he ſtruck him a blow with his fiſt, and ſtretched him ſenſeleſs at his feet. In this rage he ordered one of his attendants to throw the wretch over the wall, which was forty guzes * in heighth. Mahim Anigah, this unfortunate man's father, died with grief about a month after, and Monim Chan who was an abettor of the aſſaſſination of the Vizier, fled to Lahore, where he was ſeized and ſent to Agra: but as the proofs againſt him were not

Adam is killed by the king.

* A guze is about a yard Engliſh.

ſufficient,

ſufficient, he was acquitted by the king, and had afterwards the addreſs to work himſelf into favour. A. D. 1562. Higer. 970.

The king conferred all the honours and eſtates of his father upon Mirza Aziz, the eldeſt ſon of the deceaſed Vizier, excepting the offices of the Vizarit and Vakilit *. Sultan Adam prince of the Gickers, diſturbing the peace of Punjab, the Omrahs of that country were ordered to reduce him, and place Kummal Chan one of the ſame nation, upon the muſnud. Kummal Chan had been once miraculouſly preſerved from death. Selim Shaw ordered a priſon, wherein he was at Gualier, with ſome hundreds of Gickers who had been taken priſoners, to be blown up with gunpowder. This was done, and Kummal was thrown to ſome diſtance, without receiving any conſiderable hurt. The ſame year Kummal Chan by the aid of the Omrahs marched againſt the Gickers, reduced that fierce nation, and took Sultan Adam priſoner. The Gickers reduced.

Chaja Moin the father of Shirrif ul Dein Huſſein, came about this time from Turkeſtan to Lahore: he was there met by his ſon and brought to Agra, the king himſelf going out to congratulate him, as he was of the race of Chaja Shakear naſir ul Dein Abdulla, one of the greateſt ſaints in Turkeſtan. Not long after theſe tranſactions, Mirza Huſſein either ſtruck with madneſs, or ſome unknown apprehenſions, fled to Ajmere with all his forces. This revolt occaſioned great diſturbances in that country, to quell which Huſſein Kulli Chan ul Kuddir, the nephew of Byram Chan, was nominated to the government of Nagore, and ordered to proceed thither with a great force. Mirza Huſſein having received intelligence of his march, left Rebellion of Mirza Huſſein.

* The Vizarit and Vakilit are often joined in the ſame perſon, but the latter is reckoned the firſt office in the empire.

A. D. 1563. Higer. 971. Ajmere in charge of one of his friends, and retreated to Jalore on the frontiers of Guzerat. Huſſein Kulli Chan proceeded to Ajmere, and poſſeſſed himſelf of that place by capitulation.

Abul Mali joins Huſſein. Shaw Abul Mali, who had been releaſed from his confinement upon promiſe of proceeding to Mecca, hearing of the rebellion of Mirza Huſſein on the way, returned and joined him. He marched by his command with a body of horſe towards Narnoul, and there committed hoſtilities. Huſſein Kulli Chan detached Ahmed Beg and Euſuph Beg againſt him, while he marched in perſon againſt Mirza Huſſein. Shaw Abdul Mali lay in ambuſh for the troops which were ſent againſt him. They fell into the ſnare and were defeated with great ſlaughter, the two generals being ſlain in the action.

Defeats the Imperialiſts.

Flies to Cabul. The king at that time taking the diverſion of hunting at Muttra, received intelligence of the defeat of his troops, and ſent another army againſt Mali. The rebel fled before the imperial forces to Punjab, and from thence to Mirza Mahummud Hakim, the king's brother at Cabul. Hakim gave to Mali his ſiſter in marriage, and raiſed him to the firſt office in that kingdom, for which he by that time paid little or no homage to Akbar.

His villainy. The ungrateful refugee, however, had not been many months in ſtation, before he aſpired to the kingdom of Cabul, and baſely aſſaſſinated Mirza Mahummud Hakim's mother, his own mother-in-law, who was a woman of uncommon abilities, and might with truth be ſaid to have ruled that kingdom. He then pretended to act as regent for the young prince, who was ſtill in his minority, with a view to get rid of him as ſoon as he could conciliate matters with the Omrahs. In the mean time

Mirza

Mirza Soliman, prince of Buduchſhân, came againſt him, and cut off the opening flower of his ambition, by depriving him of his life. Mirza Sherrif ul dein Huſſein having heard of the retreat of Shaw Abul Mâli, fled to Ahmedabad, in Guzerat. A. D. 1563. Higer. 971. and death.

The king, about this time, made a progreſs towards Delhi. As he was paſſing by the college of Mahim Annigah, a ſlave of the rebel Mirza Huſſein, by name Kuttlick Fowlad, who had been ſent to aſſaſſinate the king, fixed an arrow in his bow and pointed it towards the ſky. The royal retinue, imagining that the villain was going to ſhoot at ſome bird flying overhead, gazed upward: he immediately lowered his aim to the king, who was at ſome diſtance upon his elephant, and let fly his arrow, which lodged itſelf ſome inches deep in Akbar's ſhoulder. In a moment a thouſand ſwords were drawn, and the people cut one another, each anxious to kill the aſſaſſin, who was in a moment hewn to pieces. The ſurgeons being called, the arrow was, with great difficulty, extracted on the place, before all the people; the king not ſhrinking once at the operation: in about ten days the wound was cloſed up, Akbar returned to Agra, and ſoon after appointed Aſaph Chan Herdi Suba of Kurrah and Maneckpoor. An attempt againſt the king's life.

The king did not reſt many days at Agra, before he ſet out for Narvar to hunt elephants. He had ordered Abdulla Chan Uſbeck, governor of Malava, to ſend his trained elephants to aſſiſt in this amuſement, which he neglected to do. The king was very much enraged at his diſobedience, and made a ſudden incurſion into Malava, though the periodical rains were at their heighth. Mahummud Câſin Chan Neiſhapuri, governor of Saringpoor, joined the king by the way. When Akbar had reached Ugein, Abdulla Chan, with all his forces and treaſure, fled to Guzerat: the king purſued him about twenty-five crores, with The governor of Malava revolts; he flies to Guzerat.

A. D. 1563. Higer. 971.

with a ſmall body of cavalry: the rebel ſtood his ground, and fought with ſuch ſucceſs, that Akbar thought proper to return from the purſuit to Mindu, where he ſurveyed the buildings erected there by the princes of the race of Chillige. While Akbar remained in that city, Mira Mubarick Shaw, king of Chandez paid him homage, and gave him his daughter in marriage. The king conferred the government of Malava upon Shirra Bahadur, and returned towards his capital.

The king of Chandez, in the decan, ſubmits to Akbar.

The king, upon the way, near the village of Sipiri, fell in with a great herd of wild elephants. He ordered his cavalry to ſurround them, and he drove them, with great difficulty, into a kedda or fold conſtructed for that purpoſe: one of the male elephants, of a prodigious ſize, finding himſelf confined, ſtrode over the ditch, bore down the wall and the palliſadoes before him, and made his way into the plain. Three trained elephants were ſent after him: he ſtood to fight, and before they could overcome and take him, he afforded very great diverſion to the king; who was remarkably fond of the boiſterous contention of thoſe enormous animals.

Tranſactions at Agra.

In the year 972, Chaja Moazim, the brother of Chuli Begum, and huſband to the king's aunt, for ſome impropriety of behaviour, was thrown into priſon, where he died. The ſame year, the old fort of Agra, which was built of brick, was demoliſhed, and the foundation of the new one of red freeſtone laid; and though a great and magnificent work, was finiſhed in four years.

The Uſbeck Omrahs rebel.

By the intrigues of Abdulla Chan, the Uſbeck, there was a report propagated, that the king, on his account, had taken a diſlike to all the Uſbeck race, and propoſed to confine all the Omrahs

Omrahs of that nation who were in his ſervice. This calumny gained ſo much credit, that Secunder Chan, Ibrahim Chan Uſbeck, and others, who had governments about Jionpoor and Behar, turned their heads from obedience, and drew over Chan Ziman, Bahadur Chan, and Shubiani Chan to their party: Aſaph Chan Hirrevi, who held the government of Kurrah, on account of ſome diſputes with the collector of the king's revenues, took part in their rebellion. In a ſhort time, their army conſiſted of thirty thouſand horſe, with which they poſſeſſed themſelves of all the territories near Behar and Jionpoor. A. D. 1554. Higer. 972.

The policy of Akbar.

News of this rebellion being brought to the king, he ſeemed to take no notice of it. He ordered his troops to attend him on a hunting party towards Narvar, in the oppoſite direction to the enemy. He accordingly employed himſelf in taking elephants for ſome days; during which time, Aſherif Chan, a ſcribe, was ſent privately to Secunder Chan, to endeavor to bring him over from his faction. Laſhkar Chan Bukſhi, was ſent with a great body of horſe to ſeize the treaſures of Aſaph Chan, upon whom the king had a large demand, which was the ſole cauſe of that Omrah's rebellion.

A digreſſion concerning Aſaph Chan's war with the queen of Gurrah.

It ſeems, that when Aſaph Chan was made an Omrah of five thouſand, and obtained the government of Kurrah and Maneckpoor, he obtained permiſſion of the king to ſubdue a country called Gurrah or Kattuck, lying between the provinces of Rintimpore, Malava, Behar and the Decan. At that time, the kingdom of Gurrah * was governed by a queen, whoſe name was Durgautti, famous for her beauty and accompliſhments: her dominions were about one hundred and fifty crores in length,

* Now part of Oriſſa and Bundel-cund.

and

A. D. 1564. Higer. 972. and about fifty in breadth: yet ſo flouriſhing was the country, that in this ſmall tract, there were about ſeventy thouſand towns and villages well inhabited; which had the good fortune never to have fallen under the dominion of foreigners.

Aſaph Chan, having heard of the riches of this country, diſturbed the peaceable inhabitants, unaccuſtomed to the ſound of war, with conſtant depredations; he at length marched againſt them with ſix thouſand horſe, and about double that number of infantry. The queen, with fifteen hundred elephants, eight thouſand horſe and ſome foot, prepared to oppoſe him. Like a bold Heroine ſhe led on her troops to action, cloathed in armour, with a helmet upon her head, mounted in a howdar, on an elephant, with her bow and quiver lying by her ſide, and a burniſhed lance in her hand. Though her troops had not been accuſtomed to action, the love of liberty, and the example of their queen, inſpired every breaſt with a lion's courage. Their eagerneſs to engage, made them march in diſorder towards the enemy, which the queen obſerving, commanded them to halt, and forming her line anew, gave her troops ſtrict orders to march on ſlowly, as compact as poſſible, and to obſerve the ſignal to engage, when it ſhould be diſplayed from the elephant of the royal ſtandard.

In this manner ſhe received the enemy, whom ſhe quickly repulſed, and preſſing upon them, laid ſix hundred Mahommedan horſemen dead on the field; ſhe purſued the reſt till the evening, with great ſlaughter. When night came on, the queen halted with her army, and gave them orders to waſh and refreſh themſelves, that they might be prepared for a night attack upon the enemy, before they could recover from their conſternation. But her vizier, and the reſt of her chiefs, leſs daring, and conſe-

quently leſs prudent than this heroine, oppoſed this ſalutary meaſure, and ſeditiouſly inſiſted on returning to the field of battle to bury their friends. She, accordingly, returned unwillingly; and, after the dead were burnt, again addreſſed her chiefs, and ſolicited them, one by one, to accompany her to ſtorm the Mahommedan camp: none of them, however, had the ſpirit to ſecond her in this daring enterprize. They vainly imagined, that the enemy would of their own accord evacuate the country. A. D. 1564. Higer. 972.

The Omrahs of Gurrah, ſoon found that they were fatally fruſtrated in their hopes. Aſaph Chan, to wipe away the diſgrace which he ſuſtained the day before, and finding what enemy he had to deal with, advanced in the morning towards the queen, with his artillery; which, in the preceding action, he had left behind him, on account of the badneſs of the roads. The queen, upon Aſaph's approach, advanced to a narrow paſs, and prepared to oppoſe him. The Mogul, ſcouring the paſs with his artillery, ſoon opened to himſelf a way into the plain beyond it, where the queen's army were drawn up in order of battle. Raja Bier Shaw, the queen's ſon, a young prince of great hopes, as ſoon as the Mahommedan army came into the plain, made a reſolute charge, and exhibited prodigies of valour. He repulſed the enemy twice, but in the third attack, being wounded, he became faint with loſs of blood. When he was juſt falling from his horſe, his mother, who was mounted on an elephant in the front of the battle, obſerved her ſon ready to expire. She immediately called to ſome of her people to carry him back to the rear; many of them accordingly crowded around him, ſome with a friendly intention to ſerve him, but more to have an opportunity to quit the field. The loſs of the Raja, in ſhort, together with the retreat of ſo many with his body, ſtruck a pannic into the reſt, ſo that the unfortunate queen was left with only three hundred men in

A. D. 1564. Higer. 972. in the field. The heroine, however, ſeemed no ways affected by her deſperate ſituation; ſhe ſtood her ground with her former fortitude, till ſhe received an arrow in her eye; ſhe endeavoured to extricate it from the wound, but as ſhe tugged it, part of the ſteel broke ſhort, and remained behind. In the mean time, another arrow paſſed through her neck, which ſhe alſo drew out, but nature ſinking under the pain, a dimneſs ſwam before her eyes, and ſhe began to nod from ſide to ſide of the howdar *. She, however, recovered from her fainting by degrees; and a brave officer of her houſhold, by name Adhar, who drove her elephant, ſingly repulſed numbers of the enemy whitherſoever he turned the outragious animal; begged permiſſion, as the day was now irretrievable, to carry the queen from the field. She rejected the propoſal with a noble diſdain: "It is true, ſaid ſhe, we are overcome in war, but ſhall we ever be vanquiſhed in honor? Shall we, for the ſake of a lingering ignominious life, loſe that reputation and virtue which we have been ſo ſolicitous to acquire? No: let your gratitude now repay that ſervice for which I lifted up your head, and which I now require at your hands. Haſte, I ſay; let your dagger ſave me from the crime of putting a period to my own exiſtence."

Adhar burſt into tears, and begged, that as the elephant was ſwift of foot, he might be permitted to leave the field, and carry her to a place of ſafety. In the mean time, the queen, finding that the enemy crowded faſt around her, and that ſhe muſt be taken priſoner, ſhe, ſuddenly leaning forward, ſeized the dagger of Adhar, and plunging it into her boſom, expired. The death of the queen, rendered Aſaph Chan's victory compleat. Six Hindoo chiefs, upon their elephants, ſtill ſtood firm: and aſhamed

* A wooden tower on the back of the elephant.

of

of being outdone by a woman, dedicated their lives to revenge the death of the queen. A. D. 1564. Higer. 972.

Aſaph Chan, a few days after this battle, laid ſiege to Joragur, where all the treaſures of this noble family had been for ten generations depoſited. The hopes of gain rendered the Moguls deſperate; they begun to attack the fort with uncommon reſolution, till the place was taken. The young Raja, bravely exerting what little ſtrength he had left, loſt his life in defence of his independence and kingdom. The unfortunate garriſon, according to their barbarous cuſtom, had performed the joar *. This dreadful ceremony was performed after this manner: a houſe was filled with wood, ſtraw and oil; the unfortunate victims were forced in, and fire ſet to the horrid pile. When the bloody conquerors, who had brought this dreadful calamity upon the miſerable Hindoos, entered the place, they found two women ſtill alive, and untouched by the flames; one of them was called Camelawilli, the ſiſter of the deceaſed queen, and the other the daughter of the Raja of Biragur, who had been brought to be eſpouſed by the young Raja of Gurrah. Theſe two ladies were reſerved by Aſaph Chan, for the king. The riches of Joragur, in gold, ſilver, jewels and precious effects were invaluable; of gold alone, there were found, in one treaſury, one hundred and one cheſts of mhers. When Aſaph Chan had glutted his avarice and ambition with the blood and treaſure of this brave, though peaceable family, he took up his reſidence in that country. His view was to maintain his conqueſt againſt the king; and he, therefore, did not return to his government of Kurrah. That avarice, which prompted him to this public robbery, prevented him from preſenting the king with his part of the plunder. Out of a thouſand

* The joar, is a general maſſacre of the women and children.

A. D. 1564. Higer. 972. elephants, which he had taken, though all ſhould fall to the ſhare of the king, he ſent him only two hundred of the worſt, and ſent no part of the jewels and treaſure. It was therefore this juſt demand which the king had upon Aſaph, that made that ambitious Omrah join in rebellion with the diſaffected Uſbecks.

The king marches againſt Aſaph Chan: falls ſick and returns.

The king having found that Laſhkar Chan could effect nothing againſt Aſaph, he determined to march in perſon into Gurrah. Having therefore left Narvar, he continued his rout for ſome days towards Gurrah. Akbar being ſeized with a fever on account of the heat, which in that ſandy ſoil was exceſſive, he returned to Agra, diſpatching Shahim Chan Sellaori, Shaw Biddai Chan, Mahummud Amin, and other Omrahs, againſt Secunder Chan, by whom they were defeated, and the two laſt taken priſoners. The king apprized of this diſaſter, ſent Menim Chan Chanan with an army ſome days journey in front, and in the month of Shawal 973, followed in perſon with all the forces that he could raiſe.

His generals defeated.

The king marches againſt Lucknow.

When the king had arrived at Kinnoge, he ſelected a body of horſe, and made an excurſion toward Lucknow, to ſurprize Secunder Chan, who was in that place: but Secunder Chan being informed of his approach evacuated Lucknow, and fled to Chan Ziman, with whom he croſſed the Ganges. The king proceeding to Jionpoor, Aſaph Chan ſued for pardon, and by the mediation of Mudgenu Chan, was admitted to the preſence, and again reſtored to favor, upon ſettling his accounts concerning the plunder of Gurrah.

Aſaph Chan ſubmits.

A few days after Aſaph Chan was detached with five thouſand choſen horſe, againſt the enemy. He came to the ferry of Nirhin,

A. D. 1565. Higer. 973.

His miſbehaviour,

and flight to Gurrah.

him, and was oppoſed in croſſing the river, but inſtead of making any diſpoſitions to gain the paſſage, he ſat down and paſſed the time in riot and fooliſh negociations, for which he had no authority. The king being informed of Aſaph's negligence, ſtripped him of his Jagier. Aſaph with his brother Vizier Chan, relinquiſhed his troops, and ſet out with great expedition to Gurrah.

Motions of the rebels.

Chan Ziman ſubmits.

The king ſent Chan Chanan to take charge of the army which Aſaph had forſaken; and the rebels in the mean time under Secunder Chan and Bahadur Chan croſſed the Jumna, and raiſed diſturbances in the provinces between the rivers, while Chan Ziman oppoſed the Imperial army at the Ganges. The king being informed of theſe motions, detached Shaw Biddaw Chan and other Omrahs, under the command of Meer Moaz ul Muluck, to ſtop the progreſs of Bahadur Chan; but in the mean time Chan Ziman repenting of his diſloyalty, ſent a number of elephants and other preſents to the king, and Monim Chan interceeding for his pardon, the king was prevailed upon to receive him into favor, and draw the pen of oblivion over his crimes. He confirmed him in all his eſtates and honors, which he had forfeited by his rebellion.

The Imperial army under Moaz ul Muluck overthrown by the rebels.

Meer Moaz ul Muluck having come up with Secunder Chan and Bahadur Chan, was upon the point of engaging them, when he received a letter from Bahadur Chan, acquainting him that his brother Chan Ziman, had ſent his mother with preſents to the king to intercede for pardon, and therefore that he would be glad to avoid extremities, till he heard the conſequence of that negociation. Meer Moaz ul Muluck, who had heard nothing of this matter, thinking it to be a political fetch to gain time or lull him to ſecurity, paid no regard to it, but drew out

in

A. D. 1565. Higer. 973.

in order of battle. Secunder Chan who commanded the van of the rebel army, made the beſt diſpoſition the time would permit to receive him, but was obliged to retreat with great loſs towards the body of the army, which by this time was formed by Bahadur Chan. The Imperialiſts, who from the flight of Secunder Chan, concluded the victory already their own, purſuing in an irregular manner, were received ſo warmly by Bahadur Chan, that they were repulſed in turn, and would never more ſhew their face to the purſuers, ſo that the rebels gained a compleat victory and great ſpoil. Meer Moaz ul Muluck fled with the ſcattered remains of his army to Kinnoge.

Chan Ziman, upon the news of this defeat, again rebels.

Akbar in the mean time as peace was concluded with Chan Ziman, went to take a view of the fortifications of Chinar and the city of Benaris. When the news of the late defeat of the Imperialiſts arrived in the royal camp, Chan Ziman, though ſo lately pardoned, being deſtitute of every principle of gratitude, loyalty and honor, again deſerted and took poſſeſſion of Ghazipoor and the adjacent territories. The king enraged at this baſeneſs, flew into a violent paſſion with Chan Chanan, by whoſe mediation he had pardoned Ziman. He immediately ordered Ziman's mother to be confined, and with all expedition marched towards the traitor, who upon his approach fled to the hills.

The rebels take Jionpoor,

Bahadur Chan taking advantage of the king's abſence from Jionpoor, entered that place, and took the citadel by eſcalade, where he releaſed his mother, and confined Aſherif Chan the governor, with all the principle perſons in the garriſon.

which is retaken by the king.

The king hearing of the taking of Jionpoor, gave over the purſuit of Chan Ziman, and returning towards that city, iſſued out orders to all the viceroys of the provinces to join him with all their forces. Upon Akbar's approach, Bahadur Chan evacuated

cuated Jionpoor and fled towards Benaris. Chan Ziman now A. D. 1566. Higer. 974.
ſeeing ſuch preparations againſt him, in all the provinces which remained firm in their allegiance, began again to deſpair of ſucceſs, and had the confidence to addreſs the king a ſecond time for pardon, which by a ſtrange perverſion of policy, and an unjuſtifiable act of clemency, or rather weakneſs in the king, he obtained, as well as a confirmation of all his eſtates and honors. The king after paſſing his royal word for all theſe favours, ordered Ziman to come to court: but the traitor excuſed himſelf, by pretending that ſhame for his paſt offences would not permit him to appear in the preſence, till time ſhould eraſe his behaviour from his majeſty's mind; that as ſoon as the king ſhould return to Agra, both he and his brother Bahadur Chan, would accept the honor which the royal benevolence intended to confer upon them.

Chan Ziman pardoned a ſecond time.

It ſurprizes, it even diſguſts the friends of the memory of the renowned Akbar, to find that he ſhould admit of this excuſe, or truſt to the oath of a man already perjured: but the ſincere mind of Akbar, could not ſuſpect in others that baſeneſs which was a ſtranger to his own ſoul. He returned to Agra, and left this ſnake to collect freſh poiſon. When Akbar had arrived at Agra, he ſent Mendi Caſſim Chan with four thouſand horſe, to drive Aſaph Chan out of his government of Gurrah, which he had uſurped.

The king's weakneſs.

Chan Ziman, as might have been forſeen, took this opportunity to ſtrengthen his party. Treaſon ſtill fermented in ſecret within his ſoul, and he invited Aſaph Chan to join him. Aſaph accepted of the propoſal, and left Gurrah in poſſeſſion of Caſſim Chan. Ziman in the mean time forgetting his oath to wait on the king at Agra, during ſix months maintained himſelf in a

Chan Ziman again revolts.

A. D. 1566. Higer. 974.

princely independance over all the eaſtern provinces. Aſaph Chan who had by this time joined him, finding himſelf neglected and treated with contempt, fled to Kurrah his original Jagier, was purſued by Bahadur Chan, defeated and taken priſoner. In the mean time his brother Vizier Chan, who eſcaped in the action, rallied the troops, and returning, ſurprized the conquerors, and reſcued Aſaph Chan out of their hands. The brothers then fell upon Kurrah, and poſſeſſed themſelves of that country.

An embaſſy from Cabul.

An ambaſſador about this time arrived from Mirza Mahummud Hakim the king's brother, who governed Cabul, acquainting him, that Mirza Soliman of Buduchſhan, ever ſince he had defeated and killed Shaw Abdul Mali, continued to read the Chutba of Cabul in his own name; that he had appointed Mirza Sultan to act in that city in his behalf, which had obliged Hakim to expel him from that office; for which affront Mirza Soliman was again preparing to invade Cabul: he therefore earneſtly entreated Akbar's aid to oppoſe him.

The king iſſues orders to aid his brother at Cabul.

The king fearing more from the encroachments of his northern enemies, than from the ſoft ſons of the eaſtern provinces, immediately ordered the Omrahs of Punjab, and Mahummud Kulli Chan of Moultan, to aſſiſt Mirza Mahummud Hakim, as ſoon as ever they ſhould be certain of the enemies attempts upon Cabul. Feredoon Chan Cabuli who was one of the king's Omrahs, was alſo ſent from the preſence with what troops he retained in pay to ſuccour Hakim: but before the royal orders arrived either at Punjab or Moultan, and conſequently long before any ſuccours could reach Cabul, Mirza Soliman had inveſted that city. Mirza Mahummud Hakim evacuated it in a few days and retreated to the Nilab, where he

met

met Feredoon Chan coming to his aſſiſtance. This treacherous Omrah, propoſed to Hakim to ſieze upon Lahore, aſſuring him that Akbar was in no condition to oppoſe him, being involved in a war with the Uſbeck Omrahs: that after he ſhould be poſſeſſed of that rich and powerful province, he would find little difficulty in driving Mirza Soliman out of Cabul. A. D. 1566. Higer. 974.

Mirza Mahummud Hakim inſenſible of the baſeneſs of this project, ungratefully began to take meaſures to put it in execution, and marched to Lahore in conjunction with Feredoon Chan. Hakim's deſign upon Lahore being noiſed abroad, the Omrahs of Punjab, particularly Cuttub ul dein Annigah, and Pier Mahummud Chan, threw all their forces into the city, and prepared for a vigorous defence. Mirza Mahummud Hakim ſat down before the place, and uſed every art and perſuaſion to bring over thoſe Omrahs to his intereſt, but without effect. Hakim's deſigns upon Lahore. Beſieges that city.

The king enraged as well as alarmed at this rebellion, laid aſide his intended expedition againſt the Uſbecks, and turned his arms towards Lahore. He began his march towards that city on the 14th of Jimmad ul Awil 974, leaving Agra under the government of Monim Chan Chanan. Akbar having arrived at Sirhind, the news of his approach reached Lahore. The citizens immediately began to beat their drums, to ſound their trumpets, and to make every demonſtration of joy. This unuſual noiſe waked Mirza Hakim, who was aſleep in his tent: he aſked the meaning of that uproar, and was told that the king was come expeditiouſly from Agra. Mirza Hakim believing that the king was already at his heels, mounted his horſe without delay, and retreated precipitately with his cavalry towards Cabul: he The king marches towards Lahore. Hakim retreats with precipitation.

A. D. 1566. Higer. 974.

came very opportunely to that city, and took it by ſurprize, Mirza Soliman having retired to Buduchſhan during the winter.

Akbar arrives at Lahore.

The king in the mean time advanced to Lahore, where he ſpent a few days in hunting: he them ſent back Mudginu Chan, to poſſeſs himſelf of Kurrah and Manneckpoor, which Aſaph Chan had ſeized. Much about this time the ſons of Mirza Sultan governor of Simbol, roſe in rebellion. This inſurrection was cruſhed in the bud by the other Jagierdars of the adjacent territories, who defeated the young rebels and drove them towards Malava. They however poſſeſſed themſelves of that country without much oppoſition, there being at that time no imperial forces in that province. Mirza Sultan upon account of the rebellion of his ſons, was ſeized and impriſoned in Biana, where he ſoon after died.

The king marches againſt the Uſbeck Omrahs.

The Uſbeck Omrahs improved the king's abſence to their own advantage, and extended their conqueſts on all ſides. This obliged the king to return to Agra, before which city he ordered all his forces from the provinces to rendezvous. He was in a few weeks ready to take the field againſt the rebels, with two thouſand elephants and above a hundred thouſand horſe. Chan Ziman at that time beſieging Euſoph Chan in the fort of Sherigur, hearing of the king's approach, retreated to Kurrah, in which place Bahadur Chan had inveſted Mudgenu Chan. The king cloſely purſued Ziman, but when he had reached Raibarrili, he heard that the rebel was croſſing the Ganges, with an intention to march to Malava, and join the ſons of Mahummud Sultan, or to make an alliance with the king of the Decan.

The king ſwims acroſs the Ganges on his ele-

The king haſtened his march and arrived at the ferry of Manneckpoor in the evening. No boats could be procured, and Akbar, impatient

impatient to engage the rebels, mounted his elephant, and contrary to the advice of all his Omrahs, took the river which was then very deep, and had the good fortune to paſs over in ſafety: one hundred horſe plunged into the ſtream and ſwam after the king. Akbar in the morning came before the enemies camp with his hundred horſe, and Mudgenu Chan and Aſaph Chan joined him immediately with all the garriſon of Kurrah.

A. D. 1566. Higer. 974. phant, accompanied with 100 horſe only.

The enemy not ſuſpecting that the king would attempt to croſs the river without his army, had ſpent the night in feſtivity, and could hardly believe their ſenſes, when they heard the royal drums beating the imperial march. They at length in the utmoſt confuſion began to form their line, but before they were in compleat order, Akbar charged them with great violence: Baba Chan Caſhkal at the head of the king's light ſcouts, penetrated through the camp of the rebels as far as the tents of Chan Ziman, where he was repulſed by Bahadur Chan, and driven back with precipitation among the king's ranks, which occaſioned ſome diſorder among the files of Mudgenu Chan. Bahadur Chan in the mean time turned towards the center, where the king commanded in perſon: Akbar obſerving him, came down from his elephant, and mounting a horſe, preſſed towards him; but by this time an arrow having killed Bahadur Chan's horſe, he was obliged to retreat on foot, among his own troops. The king immediately commanded his few elephants to advance: thoſe animals engaging furiouſly with thoſe of the enemy, killed ſome of them upon the ſpot, and drove back the reſt among their own ranks.

He comes before the rebel army.

Charges them.

Chan Ziman encouraging his men, ſtill continued the action with great bravery, till his horſe having received two wounds, he was obliged to quit him, and while he was mounting another,

The rebels totally overthrown.

A. D. 1566. Higer. 974. he was trodden to death by an elephant. The rebels now fell into confuſion: diſtracted for want of orders, they turned their face to flight. Bahadur Chan was taken priſoner, and carried before the king; What evil had I done to you, ſaid Akbar, thus to provoke you to draw the ſword of treaſon againſt me? He ordered that particular care ſhould be taken of Bahadur; but ſome of the Omrahs, as ſoon as the king's back was turned, fearing that his clemency would pardon that conſummate rebel, prevented it by putting him immediately to the ſword. Akbar, though it is highly probable that he would have forgiven Bahadur, made no inquiries concerning his death. The heads of the brothers were ſent to Punjab and Cabul. Jan Alli Beg Uſbeck, Ear Alli, Mirza Beg, Chuſhal Beg, and Mier Shaw Mahummud Buduchſi, were alſo taken priſoners and carried by the king to Jionpoor, where they were trodden to death by elephants. This deciſive action happened upon the firſt of Zihidge, 974, and is an inſtance of the daring intrepidity of the renowned Akbar.

The king ſettles the eaſtern provinces and returns to Agra.

The government of Kurrah was conferred upon Chan Chanan, and ſoon after Secunder Chan, who was beſieged in the fort of Jud, fled to Gorrickpoor. The rebellion of the Uſbecks being thus quaſhed, and the peace of the eaſtern provinces reſtored, the king in the month of Mohirrim 975, returned in triumph to Agra.

SECTION

SECTION IV.

The Hiſtory of the Reign of AKBAR, from the Year 975, to the total Reduction of the Kingdom of Guzerat in 981.

A. D. 1567. Higer. 975.

Akbar marches againſt Rana Sing, and reduces Malava.

DURING the rebellion of the Uſbeck Omrahs, Rana Udai Singh had taken great advantage of the king's diſtreſs. This determined Akbar, without remaining long at Agra, to march againſt him. The king having arrived before the fort of Suiſoob, the governor evacuated the place and retreated to his maſter Surjun Raja of Rintimpore. Akbar left a garriſon in Suiſoob, and proceeded to the fort of Kakeran, on the frontiers of Malava. The ſons of Sultan Mahummud Mirza, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of Mindu, hearing of the emperor's progreſs, were greatly diſtreſſed. To compleat their misfortunes, Aligh Mirza died at that time, and his adherents fled with precipitation towards Guzerat.

The king inveſts Chitor.

The king left Malava under the charge of Shab ul dein Ahmed Shaw Neſhapuri, and marched from Kakeran to expel the Rana from Chitor. The Rana left eight thouſand diſciplined Rajaputs, with a great ſtore of proviſions in the fort of Chitor, which is built on a mountain, and retired himſelf with his family to an inacceſſible place. The king immediately inveſted Chitor, and ſet five thouſand pioneers to work in throwing up trenches, and carrying on approaches to the place. When he had completed two batteries, and carried two mines under different baſtions, he endevoured to ſpirng them at once: but one of them going off before the other, blew up one of the baſtions and made a practicable

An accident in carrying on the ſiege.

A. D. 1567. Higer. 975. a practicable breach. Two thouſand men who were prepared to ſtorm, advanced immediately, upon a ſuppoſition that both of the mines had been ſprung. They divided into two bodies in order to enter at once both breaches: one of the parties advancing near the baſtion, perceived that the mine had not been ſprung, but before they could retreat it blew up, and killed above five hundred of the Moguls, and about double that number of the enemy who were crouded on the baſtion. Among the latter were fifteen Omrahs of diſtinction. The exploſion ſo terrified thoſe who were entering the breach, that they retreated in the utmoſt conſternation.

The king kills the governor of Chitor with his own hand.

Another mine was immediately carried on by the king, but as he was one day ſtanding in one of the batteries, he perceived Jeimal the governor of the place very aſſiduous in filling up the breaches, and giving orders for the defence: the king immediately called for a fuzee, and took ſo good an aim that he lodged the ball in Jeimal's brains, and laid him dead on the ſpot.

The ſpirit of the beſieged fell with their chief, and in the utmoſt deſpair, they performed the horrid ceremony of the Joar, put all their wives and children to the ſword, and burned their bodies with that of their governor, on a prodigious funeral pile.

Chitor ſtormed.

The Imperial army perceived what was going on by the light of the fire: they advanced under the cover of night to the breach, which they found abandoned, ſo that they entered the place without oppoſition. It was day-light before a number ſufficient to attack the enemy could enter: then the king in perſon led on his men, and the unfortunate garriſon devoting themſelves to death, had retired to their temples. Akbar perceiving that he muſt loſe a great number of his troops in caſe of a cloſe attack, ordered a diſtant fire to be kept up upon the deſperate

Rajaputs,

Rajaputs, till he had introduced three hundred elephants of war, which he immediately ordered to advance to tread them to death. A. D. 1567. Higer. 975.

The ſcene became now too ſhocking to be deſcribed. Brave men rendered more valiant by deſpair, crouded around the elephants, ſeized them even by the tuſks, and inflicted upon them unavailing wounds. The terrible animals trode the Rajaputs like graſshoppers under their feet, or winding them in their powerful trunks, toſſed them aloft into the air, or daſhed them againſt the walls and pavements. Of the garriſon, which conſiſted of eight thouſand Rajaputs and of forty thouſand inhabitants, thirty thouſand were ſlain, and the moſt of the reſt taken priſoners. A few eſcaped in the confuſion, by tying their own children like captives, and driving them through the king's camp. They by this means paſſed undiſcovered, being taken for ſome of the followers of the camp. A dreadful ſlaughter.

The government of the ſtrong fort of Chitor was given to Aſaph Chan Hirrivi, and the king returned towards his capital. On the way a tyger happened to be rouzed before him: he gave orders that nobody ſhould touch the animal, and riding forward himſelf, he began to wound him with arrows. The terrible animal ſtood growling on a riſing ground near the king, and being enraged by his wounds, he ran directly towards the king, who ſtood to receive him with his lance. One of his attendants called Adil, fearing the conſequence, ruſhed between Akbar and the tyger, and aimed a fortunate blow at the animal, but he himſelf was toſſed under his paws, and would have in a moment expired, had not ſome others ruſhed to his aſſiſtance, and given the tyger a deadly wound, which both ſaved the king and Adil from imminent danger. The king returning towards Agra, is in danger from a tyger.

Akbar

A. D. 1567. Higer. 975.

Diſturbances in Guzerat quelled.

Akbar having arrived at Agra, received advices that Ibrahim Huſſein and Mahummud Huſſein Mirza, had revolted from Chingez Chan prince of Guzerat, and were again returned to Malava, having commenced hoſtilities with the ſiege of Ugein. The king diſpatched Killitch Chan Indijani and Chaja Yeas ul dien Kiſvini, to expel them. Upon the approach of this army, the Huſſeins raiſed the ſiege, and retreating precipitately to the Nirbudda, croſſed that river and fled again towards Guzerat.

Akbar inveſts Rintimpore.

In the month of Regib, in the year 976, the king marched from Agra with an intention to reduce Rintimpore, where Raja Surjan, who had bought that ſtrong fort from Hujaz Chan one of the dependants of Selim Shaw, prepared to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity. On the 22d of Ramzan 976, the king inveſted the place, and having properly reconnoitered it, ordered a great battery to be conſtructed on an adjoining hill, called Rin: he with great difficulty dragged up his heavy artillery to this eminence; two of the pieces being capable to receive a ſtone ball of ſix or ſeven maunds, or one of iron of thirty maunds *. In a few days a part of the wall and a great number of the houſes were laid in ruins, and at the end of the month the garriſon driven to difficulties, ſolicited to capitulate. The conditions propoſed by them were, to have the liberty of retiring unmoleſted, leaving all their wealth and effects to the king. Theſe terms were accordingly accepted, and the king took poſſeſſion of Rintimpore.

Which he takes by capitulation.

Returns to Agra.

Akbar after this conqueſt made a pilgrimage to the ſhrine of Chaja Moin ul Dein at Ajmere, and from thence returned to

* The ſize of theſe guns might be reckoned incredible, did there not remain to this day in India pieces of as extraordinary a bore: particularly one at Arcot, and another at Dacca.

Agra,

Agra. From that city he went to viſit Shech Selim Chiſti in the village of Sikri: he queſtioned him according to the ceremonies, and was told, it is ſaid, that he would ſoon have iſſue that would live and proſper; all the children which were born to him before that time, dying in their infancy. Soon after, the favourite Sultana became pregnant, and upon the 17th of Ribbi ul Awil, in the year 977, ſhe was brought to bed of a ſon, who was named Sultan Selim. Upon this occaſion the king publiſhed an act of grace to all priſoners, and ordered a day of thankſgiving to the Almighty: ſoon after he performed a vow of pilgrimage on foot, to the ſhrine of Chaja Moin ul Dein, with his whole army in the proceſſion, then returning by the way of Delhi, the king near that city took the diverſion of the chace.

A. D. 1569. Higer. 977.

A ſon born to the king.

Raja Ram Chund, who had poſſeſſion of the ſtrong fort of Callinger, which he had taken from the dependants of Selim Shaw, hearing about this time, that the king meditated an expedition againſt him; fearing the fate of Rintimpore and Chitor, made terms for the delivery of the place, which was accordingly put into the hands of the king.

Callinger ſurrendered to the king.

Upon the 3d of Mohirrim 978, the king had another ſon born to him in the houſe of Shech Selim *, whom he called Mahummud Murad. He upon this account made another pilgrimage to Ajmere, and ordered the town to be fortified with a ſtone wall. The Sultan from thence proceeded to Nagore, where Chunderſein the ſon of Maldeo, and Rai Callianmill Raja of Bicanere, came out to meet him with valuable preſents. The latter preſented the king with his beautiful daughter. Akbar from Nagore marched to the town of Adjodin, and viſiting the

Who makes a grogreſs through his dominions.

* It ſeems the king had left ſome of his beautiful miſtreſſes in the houſe of Shech Selim, to receive the benefit of the prayers of that holy man.

A. D. 1570. Higer. 978. tomb of Shech Ferid Shukurgunge, proceeded to Debalpoor, where Mirza Aziz Koka who was Jagierdar of that place, preſented him with a large Piſhcuſh. The king from thence paſſed to Lahore, Huſſein Kulli Chan a Turkuman, governor of that city and province, came alſo out to meet him in the ſame manner with great preſents.

He returns to Agra. On the firſt of Siffer 979, the Sultan left Lahore, and returned by the way of Firoſa to Ajmere, and from thence proceeded to Agra. Secunder Chan Uſbeck who had been lurking about the woods of Bengal, and committing ravages on the inhabitants, was about this time ſeized by Monim Chan, and ſent to the king, who according to his uſual clemency forgave him.

The king eſteeming the village of Sikri, fortunate to him, as two ſons were born to him there, by the means of the prayers of the ſaints with whom he left his favorite miſtreſſes; he ordered the foundation of a city to be laid there, which after the conqueſt of Guzerat, he called Fattepoor *. In the year 980, the kingdom of Guzerat being torn to pieces by inteſtine diviſions, Akbar ſeized upon that opportunity to declare war againſt it. He therefore marched to Ajmere under a pretence of a pilgrimage, and from that place detached Chan Callan before him towards Guzerat. The king followed at ſome diſtance with the main body of the army. Akbar in his way appointed Rai Singh to the government of Joelpoor, the reſidence of Raja Maldeo, whom on account of ſome miſdemeanor he depoſed. When the emperor arrived at Nagore, he received advices of the birth of another ſon, on the 2d of Jimmad ul Awil, in the houſe of the holy Shech Danial, whom he with great propriety called Da-

The king invades the kingdom of Guzerat.

* The city of Victory.

nial,

nial, as it was to the ſaint's prayers no doubt he owed this piece of good fortune *. A. D. 1572. Higer. 980.

The king appearing with his army on the confines of Guzerat, Shere Chan Fowladi, an Omrah of diſtinction who defended the frontiers, abandoned his poſt and fled with precipitation. The king took immediate poſſeſſion of Pattan, and gave the government of it to Seid Ahmed Chan. He from that place moved his ſtandard of victory towards Ahmed-abad; but before he had marched two ſtages, Sultan Muziffer came to meet him, and without a blow, ſurrendered his kingdom into the hands of Akbar, ſo that the king entered Ahmed-abad, the capital of Guzerat, in as peaceable a manner, as if he had been entering Agra. To account for this it may not be improper to ſay ſomething concerning the ſtate of Guzerat at that period. Which ſubmits without a blow.

Sultan Mamood king of Guzerat, having ſometime before this event died, his Omrahs, particularly Seid Mubarik Actemad Chan, and Amad ul Muluck, who poſſeſſed all the power of the government during the minority of the prince Sultan Ahmed, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Sultan Mamood, finding him begin to think for himſelf, were unwilling to part with their power, and found means privately to make away with him: but to keep up the appearance of loyalty, they raiſed a child of doubtful birth to the throne, on whom they impoſed the name of Sultan Muziffer, and divided the kingdom among themſelves in the following manner. Ahmed-abad, Cambait, and ſome other provinces, were poſſeſſed by Actemad Chan; Anduka, Dolukch, and ſome other countries, by Juil Chan the grandſon of Seid Muba- The ſtate of Guzerat.

* One might be tempted to think, that as Akbar left his wives in charge of the Saints of Sikri, he owed ſome of his ſons to more than the prayers of thoſe holy perſons: it being the opinion of the Mahommedan doctors, as well as of ſome grave divines among ourſelves, that prayer is more effectual when the means are uſed.

A.D. 1572. Higer. 980.

rick; Surat, Biroge, Birod and Japanier, by Chingez Chan the ſon of Amad ul Muluck, while other Omrahs who had influence in the ſtate, had the reſt of the kingdom partitioned among them. The nominal king Sultan Muziffer was in the mean time cooped up by Actemad Chan in Ahmed-abad; during this oligarchy, the government became very oppreſſive, by continual wars and civil diſſentions. This made the unhappy people of Guzerat turn their eyes towards Akbar, to relieve them from their petty tyrants, who like vultures, gnawed the bowels of their country. The eaſy conqueſt of Guzerat was therefore no ways ſurprizing, as the nominal king tired of his ſituation, hoped more from the favor of a foreign prince, than from his own factious and independant Omrahs.

Akbar's tranſactions in Guzerat.

But to return from this digreſſion. The ſecond day after the king's entrance into Ahmed-abad, he was waited upon by the principal Omrahs of Guzerat, who haſtened to make their ſubmiſſion. But Aligh Chan and Hujaz Chan, two Abyſſinian Omrahs, were ordered into confinement, as they gave ſome evident ſigns of diſcontent. Ibrahim Huſſein Mirza was ſtill at the head of an army in Biroge, and Mahummud Huſſein Mirza at the head of another conſiderable force near Surat. The king therefore reſolved to reduce them: Aichtiar ul Muluck one of the Omrahs of Guzerat, having broke his parole of honor and fled at this time, all the other Omrahs were ordered into cloſe confinement. When the king arrived at the port of Cambait, he appointed Chan Azim Mirza Aziz governor of Ahmed-abad.

Exploits of Akbar againſt Ibrahim Huſſein.

Ibrahim Huſſein Mirza, who we have already obſerved was in Biroge, hearing of Akbar's approach, and ſuſpecting the fidelity of Ruſtum Chan Rumi, one of his principal officers, aſſaſſinated him, and diſcovered an inclination to march into

Punjab

Punjab to raiſe diſturbances in that quarter. The king receiving intelligence of this deſign about midnight, left his camp in charge of Chaja Jehan and Calliche Chan, and with a choſen detachment marched himſelf that night with all expedition to cut off Ibrahim's retreat: the next day he reached the river Mhenderi, which runs by the town of Sirtal, with only forty horſe, the reſt having lagged behind with fatigue. The enemy being encamped on the oppoſite bank of the river, and in ſight, the king thought it prudent to proceed no further, till the reſt of his detachment ſhould arrive. Had Ibrahim therefore known any thing of the art of war, he might have eaſily taken Akbar priſoner. But that unenterprizing officer made no attempt of that kind, till the king was joined by a freſh detachment, which had been ordered ſome days before to Surat, and happened to be then encamped at a little diſtance. A. D. 1572. Higer. 980.

This ſmall party conſiſted only of ſeventy horſe, at the head of which there happened to be five principal Omrahs, Seid Mamood Chan Baherra, Raja Buguan Daſs, Raja Man Singh, Shaw Kulli Chan Myram, and Raja Surjun of Rintimpore. With theſe the king, without waiting for more troops, took the deſperate reſolution to attack the enemy, one thouſand of whom commanded by Ibrahim Huſſein, waited to receive him, while the main body of the army purſued their march. It happened very fortunately for Akbar that the enemy inſtead of permitting him to come into the plain, oppoſed him between two hedges, where not above ſix horſemen could fight abreaſt. The king in this narrow paſs put himſelf upon the footing of a private trooper, and performed extraordinary feats of perſonal valour: which however avail little to wipe away the folly of this piece of his conduct. At laſt the courage which Akbar's behaviour naturally raiſed in his followers, made them as deſperate as himſelf, He attacks 1000 of the enemy with 70 horſe. Whom he totally overthrows.

A. D. 1572. Hger. 980.

himſelf, ſo that after a long engagement with the enemy ſword in hand, they beat them back, and at laſt totally deſeated them, with the loſs only of one Omrah, and a few private men.

Akbar beſieges Surat.

Ibrahim Huſſein fled to his army, but ſuch was their conſternation and opinion of Akbar's proweſs, that the greateſt part of his forces deſerted him, which was all the advantage that could be gained by ſuch a victory. The king contenting himſelf with what he had done, deſiſted from the purſuit, and waiting till his army came up, marched and inveſted Surat. In the mean time the Omrahs of Guzerat collected themſelves in the environs of Pattan, and held a council how to proceed. They agreed that Ibrahim Huſſein Mirza ſhould proſecute his ſcheme of raiſing diſturbances in Punjab, and that Mahummud Huſſein Mirza, Shaw Mirza, and Shere Chan Fowladi, ſhould inveſt Pattan. They expected by theſe means to draw the king from the ſiege of Surat.

Ibrahim totally defeated by Rai Sing at Nagore.

Ibrahim Huſſein Mirza having arrived at Nagore, Rai Sing governor of Jodpoor, who had purſued him, came up with him one day towards the evening, at a place where there was no water to be found, but what Ibrahim poſſeſſed. This made the troops of Rai Singh, who were in great diſtreſs for water, call out to attack the enemy. This favorable diſpoſition and the neceſſity of the attempt, made Rai Singh, though much inferior to the enemy, join battle. Ibrahim's horſe being killed, and he himſelf diſmounted in the firſt charge, his army imagining that he was actually ſlain, gave ground. The enemy took ſuch advantage of their confuſion, that the whole efforts of Ibrahim were not capable to recover the diſorder, and he was totally routed: he fled with great precipitation towards Delhi, and from thence to Simbol.

In

In the mean time Mahummud Huſſein Mirza and the other Omrahs carried on the ſiege of Pattan, which was defended by Seid Ahmid Chan Barhey. Mirza Aziz Koka coming to his relief with the army from Ahmed-abad, the Omrahs raiſed the ſiege, went out to meet him, and gave him battle. Aziz Koka had at firſt the diſadvantage, both his wings being thrown into diſorder, but his troops continuing ſteady in the centre, he at laſt gained ground, and improving the advantage, put them to flight towards the Decan.

A. D. 1572. Higer. 980. The Omrahs of Guzerat defeated before Pattan.

The king in the mean time made a breach in the walls of Surat, and had raiſed ſeveral mounts, from which he battered the city and commanded the ſtreets. When he was preparing for a general aſſault, the garriſon deſired to capitulate. Their terms were agreed to, the city delivered up, and the king returned to Ahmed-abad; he diſtributed all the governments of Guzerat, among the friends of Mirza Aziz Koka, his foſter-brother, and on the 2d of Ziffer, in the year 981, returned by the way of Ajmere to Agra.

Akbar takes Surat.

SECTION V.

The Hiſtory of the Reign of AKBAR, from the Year 981, to the Reduction of Cabul in 989.

IBRAHIM HUSSEIN MIRZA, arriving at Simbol, as we have already mentioned, heard that the Omrahs of Punjab under Huſſein Kulli Chan, were beſieging the caſtle of Nagracot, he therefore marched into Punjab, which he expected to find

Ibrahim Huſſein Mirza flies to Punjab.

A. D. 1573. Higer. 981.

find unguarded, and after plundering it he had reſolved to join his friends in Guzerat, by the way of Sind.

He is expelled out of Punjab, and totally defeated near Tatta.

Huſſein Kulli Chan was therefore under the neceſſity of raiſing the ſiege, and marching after Ibrahim through all Punjab, without being able to come up with him, till he reached the environs of the city of Tatta upon the Sind. There Huſſein Kulli attacked his camp as he was one day out hunting, at ſome diſtance from his line of march. Muſaood Huſſein Mirza, Ibrahim's brother, who commanded in his abſence, was obliged therefore to form the line, ſending in the mean time an expreſs to his brother concerning his ſituation. But before Ibrahim arrived his brother was defeated and taken priſoner, having loſt ſome thouſands of his men in the engagement. Ibrahim returning from hunting met his routed army, and rallying a part of them, renewed the combat: he was however repulſed with great loſs, and obliged to fly towards Moultan.

He is defeated, taken, and put to death in Moultan.

In Moultan the unfortunate Ibrahim was again attacked by the Billochees, wounded, taken priſoner, and delivered up to Muchſufe Chan, governor of Moultan, who beheaded him. Muchſufe Chan in conjunction with Huſſein Kulli Chan, carried his head and all his effects to Agra, to preſent them to the king. Akbar ordered the head to be ſet up above one of the gates of Agra, and his brother Muſaood Huſſein to be confined in the fort of Gualier, where he ſoon after died.

An inſurrection in Guzerat,

In the Ribbi ul Awil of the ſame year, advices arrived from Mirza Aziz Koka, that Aichtiar ul Muluck Guzerati, and Mahummud Huſſein Mirza, were joined with conſiderable armies, had poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral countries in Guzerat, and had inveſted him in Ahmed-abad.

A. D. 1573. Higet. 981.

The king ſets out for Guzerat, with great expedition.

As it was now the rainy ſeaſon, and to march a great army impracticable, with that expedition which the urgency of the ſituation of affairs required, the king ſelected two thouſand horſe, and ſent them off before him; then with three hundred Omrahs and officers mounted upon camels, he proceeded at the rate of four ſtages every day*, and came up with the detachment of horſe at Pattan, where he was joined by a thouſand more. His whole force then conſiſted of three thouſand horſe, and three hundred camels. With this ſmall army he continued his march with the ſame expedition to Ahmedabad, and upon his arrival within four miles of the city, ordered the Imperial drums to beat his own march, which was the firſt news the enemy had of his approach. This ſtruck the ſoldiers with ſuch a pannic, that it was with difficulty their officers could keep them from immediate flight. They however formed at length the line, while Mahummud Huſſein with a few horſe went to the banks of the river to reconnoitre.

Arrives unexpectedly before the enemy.

Huſſein ſaw at ſome diſtance Suban Kulli, who had been ſent on the ſame buſineſs by the king. He aſked him acroſs the river, what army that was? Suban Kulli replied, that it was the army of the king of kings. The other ſaid, "that is impoſſible, for it is yet but fourteen days ſince one of my ſpies ſaw the king at Agra, and I perceive no elephants, which always attend the emperor." Suban Kulli then told him, "It is but nine days ſince the king put his foot in the ſtirrup, and it is well known, elephants cannot march at that rate; but all the cavalry are come up."

Comes to battle with them.

Mahummud Huſſein returned immediately to his camp, and ſent Achtiar ul Muluck with five thouſand horſe, to watch the gates of Ahmedabad. He himſelf marched with ſeven thouſand

* Each ſtage is about twenty Engliſh miles.

A. D. 1573. Higer. 981. horſe againſt the king. Akbar had by this time reached the banks of the river, and diſcovering the enemy, he drew up to receive them, expecting every moment to be joined by the troops in the city: but they were blocked up by the enemy. He then ſaw, that his whole dependance muſt reſt on his own troops; to render them more deſperate, by cutting off all hopes of retreat, he croſſed the river, and drew up before the enemy on the plain. Mahummud Huſſein Mirza placing himſelf in the centre with his Moguls, Shaw Mirza on his right with the Afghans and Rajaputs, and Shere Chan Fowladi on his left with the Abaſſinians and the horſe of Guzerat, advanced to the charge.

And totally defeats the enemy.

The king having alſo drawn up his ſmall army in three diviſions, commanded by their ſeveral officers, he poſted himſelf with his body guard, conſiſting of a hundred horſe in the rear of the centre. The battle now being joined with great fury on both ſides, the king with his guard wheeled round his right flank, and fell furiouſly on the left flank of the enemy. His troops obſerving their king thus expoſing himſelf in the midſt of danger, made an uncommon effort of valor and charged the enemy ſo warmly, that they were repulſed with great loſs. Mahummud Huſſein Mirza who was wounded in the action, attempting to leap over a hedge with his horſe, fell from his ſaddle, and was taken priſoner. Several perſons contending about the honor of taking Huſſein, the king aſked him who was the man who took him? Huſſein replied, "Nobody: the curſe of ingratitude overtook me."

The king in imminent danger.

When the king's forces were warm in the purſuit, he himſelf remained on a riſing ground, with about two hundred horſe. On a ſudden a great body of troops appeared moving towards him. He immediately diſpatched a perſon to know who they were: he

he brought back intelligence, that they were the forces of Achtiar ul Muluck, who had been left to guard the gates of Ahmedabad. The troops who were with the king began to be very uneaſy at their ſituation, and gave many intimations of their deſire of retreating. But Akbar would by no means deſert his poſt: he ordered them inſtantly to prepare to charge and break through the enemy; at the ſame time commanding the drums to beat up the royal march. A. D. 1573. Higer. 981.

The enemy hearing the drums, made no doubt but the whole army was behind the hill, and retreated with great precipitation. The king purſued them to ſome diſtance, to keep up the pannic which had ſeized them. Whilſt theſe things happened where the king commanded in perſon, Rai Singh to revenge ſome former quarrel, baſely embrued his hands in the blood of Mahummud Huſſein Mirza, who had been left in his poſſeſſion. Achtiar ul Muluck having alſo fallen from his horſe in his flight, was killed by one of the king's guards, who was purſuing him with great eagerneſs. He charges 5000 of the enemy with 200 horſe.

Chan Azim Aziz Koka, finding now that the blockade was withdrawn from the gates, came out to meet the king. Akbar entered Ahmedabad the ſame day, and continued Chan Azim in his government, then by the way of Ajmere, haſtened towards Agra, after having performed a ſervice, which, though glorious, reflects more honor upon his intrepidity, than upon his conduct.

In the courſe of the ſame year, Daood ben Soliman governor of Bengal, drew his neck from the yoke of obedience. Monim Chan Chanan was ſent againſt him, who brought him to a treaty after ſome ſucceſsful engagements. The king diſſatisfied The Suba of Bengal rebels.

A. D. 1574. A. H. 982. Higer. 981.

with this peace, committed the affairs of Bengal to Raja Jodermul, and ſent him with orders to expel Daood entirely out of his government, or to oblige him to pay a certain yearly tribute, ſuperior to the ſmall acknowledgement which he had formerly made. Daood being threatened at the time with a civil war by one Lodi, who diſcovered an inclination to uſurp the kingdom, conſented upon Jodermul's appearance to pay the tribute demanded. He then found means to ſeize upon Lodi, whom he put to death. Daood relieved from that domeſtic danger, broke the treaty with the king, and advancing againſt Chan Chanan and Raja Jodermul, engaged them at the confluence of the Sool, Gang and Sirve, where being defeated, he loſt his fleet of boats and all his baggage. Chan Chanan croſſed immediately the river, and laid ſiege to Patna.

The king challenges the Suba of Bengal to a ſingle combat.

He is overthrown,

Who declines and flies.

The king ſets out for Bengal.

The king informed of theſe tranſactions, ſet out from Agra in the middle of the rains, with as many troops as could be contained in a thouſand boats: he halted a few days at Benaris, where he was joined by the forces which marched overland: he immediately embarked the whole, and fell down to Patna, and on his way he received the news of the reduction of Becker by Jeſu Chan, who had been ſent againſt that place. Akbar having arrived within a few miles of Patna, heard that Iſah Chan Neazi, one of the enemies principal generals, had marched out of the fort and fought Chan Chanan, but that he was defeated and loſt his life, ſo that the place was upon the point of being evacuated. The king therefore ſent Chan Allum with three thouſand horſe, to poſſeſs himſelf of the fort of Hadgeepoor, on the oppoſite bank of the river, and to endeavour to harraſs the enemy in their retreat, ſhould they be already gone, if not, to ſtop them. Chan Allum accordingly took that place by aſſault, and made Patte Chan the governor, and the garriſon priſoners: Daood intimi-

Tranſactions at Agra.

The war in Bengal, and the reduction of that province.

dated

dated by this, ſent a herald to the king to beg terms of accommodation. A. D. 1574. Higer. 982.

The king returned him for anſwer, that he granted him his life, but that he muſt truſt every thing elſe to his clemency, after making his ſubmiſſion; but if he ſhould be obſtinate enough to hold out ſome few days merely to give him trouble, he could have no reaſon to hope for pardon; "and though, ſaid the king, I have a thouſand in my army as good men as you, rather than fatigue my troops with a ſiege, I will put the whole upon the iſſue of a ſingle combat between you and me, and let him take the fort who ſhall beſt deſerve it." Daood did not chuſe to accept the challenge, nor even to put him to farther trouble, but took boat at the water-gate that night, and fled down the river: ſoon after all his army evacuated the place. The next morning the king purſued them and took four hundred elephants, and the greateſt part of their baggage. He then returned to Patna, conferred the government of that place and its dependencies upon Chan Chanan, then returned without purſuing his conqueſt farther to Agra.

The king challenges the Suba of Bengal to a ſingle combat.

Who declines and flies.

Chan Azim from Guzerat and Chan Jehan from Lahore, came to pay their reſpects to the king, and returned afterwards to their reſpective governments. Akbar at the ſame time conferred the title of Muziffer Chan upon Chaja Muziffer Alli, and appointed him to command a force againſt the fort of Rhotas in Behar: he himſelf made a tour to Ajmere, where having beſtowed great charities, he returned to Agra.

Tranſactions at Agra.

In the mean time Chan Chanan had orders to carry the war further into Bengal againſt Daood. That general having forced the paſs of Killagurry, Daood fled into Oriſſa, whither he was purſued

The war in Bengal, and the reduction of that province.

A. D. 1575. Higer. 983. purſued by Raja Jodermul, with part of the king's army. Junied the ſon of Daood defeated Jodermul in two battles, which obliged Chan Chanan to march to his aid: both the Mogul generals having joined their forces, engaged Daood.

Kudgera, an Afghan chief of great bravery, who commanded Daood's vanguard, attacked the vanguard of Chan Chanan commanded by Chan Allum, and defeated and killed that Omrah. The Afgan purſued the run-aways through the center of their own army, which were by that time drawn up in order of battle. Chan Chanan obſerving the diſorder haſtened himſelf with a ſmall body to renew the ranks, Kudgera attacked him in perſon, and wounded him in ſeveral places, ſo that he was obliged to quit the field, and he was ſoon followed by his army. The valiant Kudgera being killed by an arrow, Chan Chanan rallied his troops, and being a little recovered, led them back to the charge: he found Daood's army intent upon the plunder, and ſoon put them to flight, taking all their elephants.

Raja Jodermul being detached to purſue the enemy, came up with Daood on the banks of the Chin, which he could not croſs. The rebel finding no means for eſcaping, faced about to defend himſelf. Raja Jodermul did not chuſe to provoke Daood too far, and immediately ſent intelligence of what had paſſed to Chan Chanan. That Omrah, notwithſtanding his wounds which were very bad, haſted to that place: Daood ſurrendered himſelf upon terms, and was permitted to retain Oriſſa, after which Chan Chanan returned. The city of Gore, which had been the capital of Bengal till the time of Shere, who on account of the badneſs of the air, had made Chawaſſpoor Tanda, the metropolis, was now greatly decayed. Chan Chanan admiring the antiquity and grandeur of that place, gave orders to repair the

palaces,

palaces, and made it his reſidence: but he ſoon fell a victim to the unhealthy air of Gore and died. He was ſucceeded in his government by Huſſein Kulli Chan Turkuman, to whom the king gave the title of Chan Jehan. A. D. 1575. Higer. 983.

Mirza Soliman prince of Buduchſhan, being expelled by his own grandſon Mirza Shaw, was about this time obliged to ſeek protection at the court of Agra. He ſoon after took leave of the king, to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca, after which he returned to Buduchſhan, and found means to reinſtate himſelf in his dominions. Some Omrahs at court who envied the greatneſs of Mirza Aziz Koka, viceroy of Guzerat, accuſed him to the king of treaſonable intentions: they ſo far prevailed upon him, that he recalled him from his government and confined him. Koka's readineſs to comply with the imperial order, convinced Akbar that he was no ways guilty; but that the whole proceeded from the malice of his enemies: however, Shab ul Dein Ahmed Chan Neiſhapuri, who was advanced to the government of Guzerat, had ſufficient intereſt at court to retain his office after his predeceſſor was acquitted. Tranſactions at court.

Before Chan Jehan had taken poſſeſſion of his government of Bengal and Behar, the Zemindars of thoſe provinces had riſen in favour of Daood, and inveſted Chawaſſpoor, which they took. Daood found himſelf ſoon at the head of fifty thouſand horſe, and in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of thoſe countries. Chan Jehan having aſſembled all the Imperial Omrahs in that quarter, advanced againſt Daood, and that chief retreated beyond the paſſes, which Chan Jehan forced, and killed above a thouſand of the enemy, who attempted to ſtop his march. The enemy on account of the narrowneſs of the defile, had not time to eſcape. Chan Jehan immediately marched towards Daood's camp, and on the 15th of Shawal 983, drew up his army in order of battle near Rebellion in Bengal.

A. D. 1575. Higer. 983. near to the enemy, who ſtood ready to receive him. Callapar, an Omrah famous in the army of Daood for perſonal ſtrength and valor, made a reſolute charge upon the left of the imperial line, and threw it into diſorder; while Muziffer Chan, who commanded the right of Chan Jehan's army, had the ſame advantage over the enemy on the left; in this ſituation they fought in a circle, when Chan Jehan made a home charge upon the center of the enemy, which was ſuſtained with great bravery. At length however the gale of victory blew on the imperial ſtandards, and the enemy were diſperſed like leaves before the autumnal wind. Daood being taken priſoner, was according to the barbarous cuſtom of war when the king was not preſent, put to death by the conqueror in cold blood upon the field: his ſon Juneid, a youth of great bravery, died in a few days of his wounds. Chan Jehan took immedate poſſeſſion of all Bengal, and ſent all the elephants and other ſpoils to the king.

Muziffer Chan in the year 984, ſet out againſt Rhotas, and ſent Mahummud Maſoom to expel Huſſein Chan, an Afghan, who was hovering about with a flying party in that quarter. Maſoom Chan having engaged him, defeated him and took poſſeſſion of his Pergunnahs; but Callapar in the mean time with eight thouſand horſe, ſurrounded him and thought to have obliged him to ſurrender. Maſoom Chan breaking down the wall of the town in which he was ſhut up, ruſhed out unexpectedly upon the enemy. In the action which enſued Maſoom Chan's horſe was killed by a ſtroke of the trunk of the elephant. Callapar immediately rode up and he himſelf was in the moſt imminent danger of being cruſhed to death, had he not wounded the elephant with an arrow in the eye, which rendered the animal ſo unruly, that he would obey no command: he therefore ruſhed back through the Afgan troops, carrying off Callapar,

which made his army believe that he fled, and they quickly followed him. Callapar was ſoon overtaken and ſlain. A. D. 1576. Higer. 984.

Maſoom after this victory returned and joined Muziffer Chan, who left Shabaſs Chan Cumbo to blockade the fort of Rhotas, and marched againſt Raja Chander Sein, from whom he took the fort of Savana. From thence he directed his march againſt Raja Gudgeputti, from whom he took the fort of Keregur, ſituated in the woods between Behar and Bengal.

The Afghans in the fort of Rhotas being deſtitute of proviſions, were prevailed upon by promiſes and a favorable capitulation to give up the place: Shabaſs Chan left Rhotas under the command of his brother, and went himſelf to court.

The king makes a progreſs through his dominions.

The king this year made a progreſs towards Ajmere, and ſent Shabaſs Chan againſt Comilmere, a ſtrong fortreſs in the poſſeſſion of the Rana; he took the place, and in the mean time the king made a tour towards the borders of the Decan: Murtaza Nizam Shaw prince of Ahmednagur, was at that time become melancholy mad and confined to his apartments: Akbar thought this a proper opportunity to ſeize upon that country; but he was diverted from his purpoſe by ſome domeſtic affairs which occurred at that time, and he returned towards Agra by the way of Ajmere, where he appointed Muziffer Chan to the high office of the Vizarit. From Ajmere the Sultan marched to Delhi, and from thence he took the rout of Cabul. When he was upon his way, a comet of an extraordinary magnitude appeared in the weſt. The king having reached Adjodin, viſited the tomb of Sheck Ferid Shuckergunge, and quitting his reſolution of going to Cabul, returned to Agra.

A. D. 1579. Higer. 987.

The great moſque at Fattepoor was finiſhed in the year 986. The prince of Chandez in the ſame year impriſoned Muziffer Huſſein Mirza by the king's commands, and ſent him to Agra. In the courſe of the ſame year Chan Jehan died in Bengal. In 987 a great fire happened in Fattepoor in the wardrobe, which conſumed effects to a prodigious amount. After the death of Chan Jehan, the Afghans began to recover in that quarter ſtrength, and to raiſe diſturbances. To ſuppreſs their inſurrections the king ſent Chan Azim Mirza Aziz Koka, with a conſiderable army to that kindgom.

Diſturbances in Bengal.

The king's brother beſieges Lahore.

Mirza Mahummud Hakim the king's brother, took the opportunity of theſe troubles to make an attempt upon Lahore. He ſent Shadiman his foſter-brother with a thouſand horſe, by way of advanced guard before him. This officer croſſing the Nilab, was attacked by Shoor Man Singh an Omrah of Punjab, and routed. When Mirza Mahummud Hakim had reached Rhotas in Punjab, Man Singh retreated to Lahore, whither he was purſued by the prince. He arrived before that city upon the 11th of Mohirrim, in the year 989, and inveſted it.

Akbar forces him to raiſe the ſiege.

The place was gallantly defended by Seid Chan, Baguandaſs, and Shoor Man Singh, till the king marched from Agra to their relief. Upon the approach of the royal ſtandard, Mirza Mahummud Hakim retreated to Cabul: the king purſuing him to Sirhind. Intelligence was brought to him at that place, that Shaw Munſoor Shirazi one of his Omrahs had been carrying on a correſpondence with the enemy, for which he ordered him to be impaled.

Purſues him to Cabul.

The king having croſſed the Nilab, continued his march towards Cabul, and detached his ſon Murad in front with the van guard:

guard: his ſon Selim he left at Jellalabad. When Murad had reached Shuttergurdan, within fifteen crores of Cabul, Feredoon Chan attacked Murad in that paſs, and having repulſed the prince, ſeized upon all his baggage. Mirza Mahummud Hakim upon the 2d of Siffer 989, drew up his army before the king in order of battle. A. D. 1581. Higer. 989.

The elephants which were with the prince Murad being ordered to advance, fired the ſmall field pieces that were mounted upon them, and by mere accident three of the chiefs who ſtood by Mirza Mahummud Hakim were killed: that puſillanimous prince immediately left the field, and was purſued with great ſlaughter. The king without farther oppoſition entered Cabul upon the 7th of Siffer, and Mirza Mahummud Hakim fled to Ghorebund: he from thence ſent an embaſſy to the king begging forgiveneſs, which was granted him. Totally overthrows him.

The king having reſigned his conqueſt of Cabul to Hakim on the 14th of Siffer, returned towards Agra. He on his way ordered a fort to be built upon the Nilab, which he called Attock, which means in the Indian language Forbidden; for by the ſuperſtition of the Hindoos, it was held unlawful to croſs that river. The king having arrived at Lahore upon the 19th of Ramzan, gave the government of that province to Raja Baguandaſs, and in a few days ſet out for Agra.

A. D. 1581. Higer. 989.

SECTION VI.

The History of the Reign of AKBAR, from the Year 989, to the Rebellion in Caſhmire, in the 1000th of the Higerah.

A. D. 1581. Higer. 989.

THE troubles in Bengal ſtill continuing, the king ſent Shabaſs Chan Cambo, with a conſiderable force to reinforce his army in thoſe parts. In the year 991 he made a progreſs to Priag, where he ordered the fort of Allahabad to be built at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges.

The king reinforces his army in Bengal.

Sultan Muziffer of Guzerat, who had been kept a priſoner at large ſince the reduction of his kingdom, began now to exhibit great loyalty and affection for the king. Akbar upon this account rewarded him with a large Jagier, and he became a great favourite at court.

But indulgences of this ſort could not gratify the ambition of the conquered king: he made his eſcape to Guzerat, while Akbar was at Allahabad, and by the aſſiſtance of Shere Chan ſtirred up a rebellion in that kingdom. The king upon the firſt intelligence of this inſurrection, ſent Actemad Chan in quality of governor to Guzerat, and recalled Shab ul Dien, who was ſuſpected of favouring Sultan Muziffer. After the arrival of the new governor, Shab ul Dien came out of Ahmed-abad, and halted ſome days at Pattan to prepare for his journey, during which time a great part of his army deſerted to Sultan Muziffer. This enabled that prince to march towards Ahmed-abad.

Actemad

A. D. 1582. Higer. 990.

Actemad Chan the governor left an officer and part of his troops to defend the city, and with the reſt marched out to Pattan, where Shah ul Dien was encamped. Sultan Muziffer in the mean time, with very little oppoſition, poſſeſſed himſelf of Ahmed-abad. The new governor then prevailed upon Shah ul Dien to accompany him, and marched back to retake the place. Sultan Muziffer who came out to battle, defeated the two governors, and drove them back to Pattan. Actemad ſent an expreſs from Pattan, to acquaint the king of his misfortune.

Akbar being informed of the untoward ſituation of affairs in Guzerat, diſpatched Abdul Ruſtum, commonly called Mirza Chan, the ſon of the great miniſter Byram Chan, together with the Omrahs of Ajmere, to reſtore the tranquility of that province; but before Mirza Chan had reached Guzerat, Sultan Muziffer had reduced the fort of Biruderra, which was defended by Cuttub ul Dien Mahummud, Jagierdar of Beroche, and had there taken fourteen lacks of rupees belonging to the king, and ten crores of rupees of the property of the governor, who loſt his life on the occaſion. This immenſe acquiſition of treaſure enabled him to recruit a great army at Ahmed-abad, whither Mirza Chan marched to attack him with eight thouſand horſe.

Mirza Chan engages and defeats Sultan Muziffer.

Mirza Chan having arrived at the village of Sirgunge, within three crores of the city, Sultan Muziffer on the 15th of Mohirrim 992, marched out to meet him with thirty thouſand horſe, and drew up in his preſence. The Imperial general noways intimidated by his numbers, encouraged his men, charged the enemy vigorouſly ſword in hand, defeated them with great ſlaughter, and purſued them quite through the city. Being ſoon after joined by the Omrahs of Malava with a conſiderable force, he marched after Sultan Muziffer towards Combait, and drove him

A. D. 1584. Higer. 992.

him among the mountains of Nadout. Muziffer faced about to oppoſe the Moguls in a narrow defile, but he was driven from his poſt by the artillery of Mirza Chan, and fled towards Jionagur, taking refuge with Jame, a Raja of theſe parts.

Mirza reduces Guzerat.

Mirza Chan thinking it unneceſſary to purſue Muziffer further, returned to Ahmed-abad, and ſent Callehi Chan to beſiege the fort of Baroche, which he took from Naſire Chan, the brother-in-law of Sultan Muziffer. Naſire held out the place ſeven months, and at laſt made his eſcape to the Decan.

Muziffer makes ſeveral attempts upon Guzerat.

Sultan Muziffer ſoon after by the aid of Jame, and Ami Chan Suba of Jionagur, advanced to a place called Mabi within ſixty crores of Ahmed-abad. Mirza Chan marching out to oppoſe him, he was ſtruck with a ſudden pannic, and made a precipitate retreat: but ſtrengthened by new alliances, he made a third attempt to recover his dominions, and engaging the king's army at Siranti, he was defeated and obliged to take refuge with Rai Singh, Raja of Jallah.

Tranſactions at court.

Mirza Chan five months after this laſt victory over Muziffer, was recalled to court; but as the fugitive Sultan began to raiſe his head again in his abſence, the king conferred the titles of of Chan Chanan upon him, and ordered him back to Guzerat. This year Burhan Nizam ul Muluck, the ſon of Huſſein Nizam Shaw, fled from his brother Murtiza Nizam Shaw king of the Decan, and came to the court of Agra, where he was graciouſly received; and not long after Shaw Fatte Allah Shirazi, the moſt eminent man of that age for learning, came alſo from the Decan, and had an honorable office near the king's perſon conferred upon him.

In

A. D. 1585. Higer. 993.

In the enſuing year Seid Murtiza Subwari, and Choclawind Chan, Omrahs of the Decan, being defeated by Sullabit Chan took refuge at Agra; and as the king had a long time entertained thoughts of conquering the Decan, he ſent them to Mirza Aziz Koka, who then poſſeſſed the government of Malava. He ordered that Omrah to raiſe all the forces of Malava, and of the adjacent territories, and carry war into that country: and having conferred the title of Azid ul Dowla upon Shaw Fatte Alla Shirazi, ſent him to aſſiſt Chan Azim in that expedition, as he was thoroughly acquainted with the different intereſts and policy of that country.

The king's deſigns upon the Decan.

Koka having according to orders recruited a great army, marched to the borders of his government, and found that Raja Alli Chan of Chandez was inclinable to join the king of the Decan. He immediately diſpatched Shaw Fatte Alla to endeavor to bring him over to the Mogul intereſt; but that Omrah returned without accompliſhing any thing. Mirza Mahummud Tucki Nizire and Bezad ul Muluck, in conjunction with the Raja of Chandez, by the orders of the king of the Decan marched againſt Koka, who was encamped in the province of Hindia. Koka however did not think it proper to engage them in that place, but giving them the ſlip, he entered the Decan by another rout, and advancing to Elichpoor, plundered that place for the ſpace of three days. The generals of the Decan, and their ally the Raja of Chandez, in the mean time returned and threw themſelves into the ſuburbs of Elichpoor, which obliged Koka, rather than riſque a battle, to evacuate the Decan.

Koka advances with an army towards the Decan.

But is obliged to retreat.

While theſe things were tranſacted in the Decan, orders were ſent to Chan Chanan of Guzerat to come to court. He forthwith obeyed, and Sultan Muziffer taking advantage of his abſence,

Diſturbances in Guzerat quelled.

A. D. 1585. Higer. 993. advanced towards Darul Malleck, the deputy governor of the country, but he was again defeated.

Tranſactions at court. Mirza Sharoch, prince of Buduchſhan, being expelled from his dominions by Abdulla Chan, the Uſbeck, came this year to court, and ranked himſelf among the king's Omrahs; at the marriage of the daughter of Raja Baguandaſs to Sultan Selim, in the year 994, the king kept a great feſtival on the Noroſe *, and a few months after Mirza Mahummud Hakim, the king's brother, who reigned in Cabul, died. Akbar having appointed Chan Chanan a ſecond time governor of Guzerat, and Shaw Fatte Alla, Sidder or high-prieſt of that country, ſet out for Punjab. On his way he appointed Sadei Mahummud Chan to the government of Bicker, and Man Singh the ſon of Baguandaſs, was ſent to Cabul. That Omrah brought the children of Mirza Mahummud Hakim, who were very young, to Lahore, and left his own ſon with Chaja Shumſe ul Dein Chani, inveſted with the chief authority in Cabul.

The king ſends an army to reduce Caſhmire. The king having arrived at the fortreſs of Attock, he detached Mirza Sharoch, Chaja Baguandaſs, and Shaw Kulli Chan Myram, with five thouſand horſe to reduce the kingdom of Caſhmire. He at the ſame time diſpatched Zein Chan Koka, with another conſiderable detachment againſt the Afghans of Jawad and Bejere. A few days after he ſent Man Singh with a detachment to rout out the Afghans of Roſhnai, who were idolaters of the Zendeika ſect, and followers of an Hindoo, who called himſelf Pier Roſhnai. This impoſtor had converted to his ſyſtem of religion great numbers of the inhabitants of thoſe countries, who after his death adhered to his ſon, and taking up arms, raiſed great diſturbances in Punjab and Moultan. The king

* The day upon which the ſun enters Aries.

being

being fully informed of the ſtrength of the Afghans of Sawad and Bejoar, ſent a reinforcement to Zein Chan. But that Omrah was notwithſtanding defeated, and Chaja Arib Buchſhi, Raja Berbul and Mulluh Seri, with many other perſons of diſtinction, with eight thouſand men, were killed in the action. A. D. 1585. Higer. 994.

Man Singh defeats the Roſhnai-Afghans.

Man Singh, who was detached againſt the Roſhnai-Afghans, met with better ſucceſs; he defeated them at Kotil Cheiber with great ſlaughter. The king returning from Attock to Lahore, ordered Koor Man Singh to proceed to Cabul, and take upon him the government of that kingdom, and at the ſame time to chaſtize the Afghans. The daughter of Rai Singh was alſo married this year to Sultan Selim.

The army in Caſhmire in diſtreſs.

The army which had been detached to Caſhmire, being reduced to great diſtreſs by the ſnow and rain, as alſo by a ſcarcity of proviſions, were under the neceſſity of making a peace with the Caſhmirians. The conditions were a tribute of ſaffron to Akbar, and the regulation of the mint, the coin being ſtruck in his name: but the king diſſatisfied with this peace, ſent Mahummud Caſim Chan, with another army to reduce that kingdom entirely to his obedience. This that General eaſily accompliſhed, on account of civil diſſentions then raging among the chiefs of that country. Mirza Soliman, the grandfather of Mirzah Sharoch, came this year from Cabul, and had an interview with the king. The ambaſſador of the king of Turan, who came to court while Akbar was at Attock, was much about the ſame time diſpatched with great preſents to his maſter.

Caſhmire reduced.

Diſturbances among the Afghans.

In the year 996, Jillal Afghan began to become formidable, having defeated and killed Seid Hamid Bochari, and driven Man Singh towards Bungiſh. The king therefore ſent Abdul Mut-

A. D. 1588. Higer. 996. talib Chan with an army againſt him, who gave him a ſignal defeat near Cheiber, and cut off great numbers of the rebels.

Chuſero born to Sultan Selim. Sultan Chuſero the ſon of Sultan Selim was born this year of the daughter of Raja Buguandaſs, and the king made a great feſtival upon the occaſion. Mahummud Sadoc Chan, governor of Bicker, according to the orders he received from court, inveſted the fort of Sewan upon the Sind, and obliged Jan Beg prince of Tatta, to acknowledge the king's authority, and to ſend him great preſents and letters of homage. Mahummud Sadoc Chan was ſoon after ordered back to Bicker.

Governors of ſeveral provinces changed. In the month of Ribbi ul Sani, Zein Chan Koka was appointed to the government of Cabul, and Man Singh recalled to Lahore. At the ſame time Chan Chanan and Shaw Fatte Ulla, were ordered from Guzerat; as alſo Mahummud Sadoc Chan from Bicker, for it was a maxim with Akbar, to change the governors of the provinces every three years, to prevent their acquiring too much influence in the countries under their command, and to ſhow the people that the royal authority prevailed through all departments of the empire. Singh was immediately appointed to the government of Behar, and the viceroyſhip of Caſhmire was conferred upon Seid Euſuph Chan Muſhiddi, Mahummud Caſim Chan the former governor being called to court; Mahummud Sadoc was in the mean time ſent againſt the Afghans of Sawad and Bajore, and Iſmaiel Chan who was in that country, recalled and ſent to Guzerat.

The king goes to Caſhmire, In the year 997, upon the 23d of Jimmad ul Sani, the king ſet out on a tour to Caſhmire, being captivated with the praiſes which he had heard of the beauty of that country, from every perſon who had ſeen it. When he reached Bimber, at the entrance

entrance of the mountains, he left his army and family behind, and with a ſmall retinue, ſet out to Serinagur the capital of that kingdom. Shaw Fatte ulla Shirazi who accompanied him died there, and the king was greatly afflicted for his death, having a particular affection for that Omrah. A. D. 1588. Hijr. 996.

The king having gratified his fancy with a ſight of all the beauty of Caſhmire, reſolved to proceed to Cabul. On the way Hakim Abul Fatte Gilani, a man famous for learning, and one of the king's companions died, and was buried at Haſſen Abdal. Akbar having arrived at Attock, detached Shabas Chan to drive away the Afghans of Euſoph Zei, who infeſted the roads, and then proceeded, march by march, to Cabul. To that city Hakim Humam and Meer Sidder Jehan, who had been ſent on an embaſſy to Abdulla Chan, king of Maver ul Nere, were juſt returned with an ambaſſador on the part of that monarch. The king having remained two months at Cabul viewing the gardens of pleaſure, and diſtributing juſtice and charity among the inhabitants, conferred the government upon Mahummud Caſim Chan, and on the 20th of Mohirrim 998, returned towards Lahore. At Lahore he conferred the government of Guzerat upon Chan Azim, and ordered him from Malava to proceed thither, while Shab ul Dien Ahmed Chan ſucceeded him in his preſidency. And to Cabul.

Chan Azim having arrived at Guzerat, led an army againſt Jâm, a Zemindar of great power in that province, who in alliance with Dowlat Chan, the ſon of Ami Chan prince of Jionagur in the Decan, came out to meet him with twenty thouſand horſe. A ſharp engagement enſued: Mahummud Ruſti Budduchſi, Mahummud Huſſein Sheeh, and Meer Sherrif ul Dien, Omrahs of diſtinction in the empire, were killed on the Mogul Diſturbances in Guzerat quelled.

A.D. 1588. Hijra 997. side, and a great number of men, while the enemy loſt the eldeſt ſon of Jame, and that prince's Vizier, with four thouſand Rajaputs on the field of battle. Victory declared for the Moguls, and many more Rajaputs fell in their flight.

The king reſides at Lahore.

Abdulla Chan the Uſbeck, having about this time taken Buduchſhan, and infeſted the borders of Cabul, Akbar reſolved to take up his reſidence for ſome time in Lahore, fearing an irruption of Uſbecks from the north. Mirza Jani governor of Sind, notwithſtanding the king's vicinity, and his orders to him to repair to court, continued refractory, and prepared for war. Akbar diſpatched Chan Chanan with many Omrahs of diſtinction, and a well appointed army againſt him.

Affairs of Malava.

In the year 999, Shab ul Dein Ahmed Chan died at Malava, and was ſucceeded by the king's appointment by the Shaw Zadda * Murad Pari, under the tuition of Iſhmaiel Kulli Chan. When the Shaw Zadda arrived upon the confines of Gualila, he heard that Mudkar, a Zemindar of power in thoſe parts, diſturbed the peace of the country. He immediately marched againſt him: the enemy oppoſed him with reſolution, but at laſt he obtained the victory, and drove the rebel to the woods, where he died in a few days of his wounds. The Zemindar's ſon Ram Chund, ſubmitted himſelf, and after paying a proper Peſhcuiſh, was confirmed in his paternal territories. The prince marched from thence, and ſoon after arrived at Malava.

The king ſends embaſſies to the four ſtates of the Decan.

The king in the mean time ſent four ambaſſadors to the four princes of the Decan. Shech Feizi, the brother of the learned Abul Fazil, to Aſere and Burhanpoor; Chaja Amin ul Dein to Ahmednagur; Meer Mahummud Amin Maſhadi to Bejapoor,

* The king's eldeſt ſon.

and

and Mirza Muſaood to Bagnagur, principally with a deſign to be informed of the ſtate of thoſe countries, upon which he had fixed an eye of conqueſt. A.D. 1590. Higer. 999.

Chan Azim governor of Guzerat, who had orders to ſeize every opportunity of enlarging his province, hearing that Dowlat Chan prince of Jionagur was dead, marched his army to reduce that country, and after a ſiege of ſeven months, made himſelf maſter of the capital and all its dependencies. Chan Azim invades the Decan.

In the courſe of the ſame year Chan Chanan laid ſiege to the fort of Suvan, on the banks of the Sind. Jani Beg with a numerous army, and a great train of artillery in boats, advanced againſt him, and having arrived within ſeven crores of the place, he ſent a hundred boats full of armed men, and forty larger ones mounted with ſwivels, to annoy the beſiegers from the river: but Chan Chanan having armed twenty-five boats, ſent them againſt this fleet in the night, and having killed about two hundred of the enemy, put the reſt to flight. Mirza Jani Beg after this defeat, with his whole fleet, advanced to the place, and in the month of Mohirrim in the year 1000, landed on a ſpot of ground, which was ſurrounded by a muddy channel, in which part of the river ran when high. Here he maintained his poſt againſt all the attempts of Chan Chanan, and keeping his communication open by water, was well ſupplied, while he took ſuch methods to prevent proviſions from coming to the Moguls, that a great dearth ſoon enſued in their camp. Chan Chanan beſieges the fort of Suvan.

Chan Chanan reduced to this perilous ſituation, found himſelf obliged to leave a part of his army before the place, and to march towards Tatta with the reſt. Soon after his departure, Mirza Jani attacked the detachment which was left to carry on The Moguls in diſtreſs.

the

A. D. 1591. Higer. 1000. the ſiege; but they defended themſelves till Dowlat Chan Lodi joined them from the main army, which was by that time at the diſtance of eighty crores, with a conſiderable reinforcement. So expeditious was Lodi upon this occaſion, that he marched the eighty crores in two days. Mirza Jani was then obliged to retreat to a ſtrong poſt, and throw up lines for his further ſecurity. Chan Chanan in the mean time returned, and ſhut him up on one ſide, while Dowlat Chan Lodi in a manner blockaded him on the other. He was therefore reduced in turn to the extremity of eating his cavalry and beaſts of burthen, for want of proviſions. This diſtreſs obliged Mirza Jani to ſue for peace, and having given his daughter in marriage to Mirza Erich, Chan Chanan's eldeſt ſon, he prepared to ſet out for court to make his ſubmiſſion to the king in perſon, as ſoon as the rains ſhould be over.

The enemy ſubmit.

SECTION VII.

The Hiſtory of the Reign of AKBAR, from the Year 1000, to his Death.

Rebellion in Caſhmire.

SEID EUSOPH CHAN had about this time by the king's orders, left his brother Mirza Eadgar at Caſhmire, and preſented himſelf at court. Mirza Eadgar in the mean time married the daughter of one of the princes of Caſhmire, and by the advice of the chiefs of that country, exalted the ſtandard of rebellion, and read the Chutba in his own name. To ſupport him in his uſurpation, he raiſed a great army; and Caſi Alli Meer the Dewan of the country, Huſſein Beg and Sheeh Omri Buduchſhi

Buduchſhi, who were collectors of the revenues on the part of the king, levied what troops they could upon this occaſion, and gave the rebels battle: but Caſi Alli was ſlain and the reſt of the Mogul Omrahs driven out of Caſhmire. A. D. 1591. Higer. 1000.

The king receiving advices of this rebellion, nominated Shech Ferid Buchſhi to carry on the war in thoſe parts. That General forthwith marched with a conſiderable army towards Caſhmire. Mirza Eadgar as the Mogul advanced came out to meet him, but upon the night before the expected engagement, Mirza Eadgar was treacherouſly attacked by Sharoch Beg and Ibrahim Kakor, two of his own chiefs, and flying naked out of his tent was murdered, and his head ſent to Shech Ferid. The rebel army was diſperſed, and Caſhmire reduced without further trouble. Which is quelled.

The king ſoon after made a ſecond tour to that delightful country, where he ſpent forty days in rural amuſements. He conferred the government of Caſhmire upon Seid Euſoph Chan, and turning towards Rhotas, he was met in that place in the year 1001, by Mirza Jani and Chan Chanan from Tatta. Chan Chanan was immediately ranked with the Sihazaris or Omrahs of three thouſand, which was at that time a high dignity, and his government of Sind reduced to the form of a province of the empire. The king makes a tour to Caſhmire.

Chan Azim was this year obliged to take the field againſt Kinkar, a powerful Zemindar of Guzerat, who gave protection to Sultan Muziffer. He obliged the Zemindar to deliver him up; and that unfortunate prince, wearied out with adverſity, put an end to his own life with a razor, as they were carrying him priſoner to Ahmedabad. Muziffer of Guzerat being taken, kills himſelf.

A. D. 1592. Higer. 1001. Oriſſa reduced.

Raja Man Singh led in the courſe of this year the troops in Bengal againſt Cullulu the Afghan, and defeating him, reduced all the province of Oriſſa, and ſent one hundred and twenty elephants which he had taken to the king.

Prince Murad appointed to the government of Guzerat.

Chan Azim being called to court to give ſome account of his adminiſtration in Guzerat, did not chuſe to riſque the enquiry, but putting his family and wealth on board ſome ſhips, ſailed for Mecca. The king having received advices of Azim's departure, ordered the prince Murad from Malava to that government, and appointed Sadoc Mahummud Chan, abſolute manager of public affairs under him. Mirza Sharoch was in the mean time appointed to the government of Malava, in the Shawzadda's place, and he releaſed Shabas Chan Cumbo, who had lain ſix years in priſon, and appointed him his miniſter.

Sometime before this period, the ſect of Roſhnai-Afghans had again begun to raiſe diſturbances about Cheiber, but they were defeated by Mirza Jaffer Kiſvini, who had been lately honored with the title of Aſaph Chan, and their chief Jellali, and his brothers, taken and ſent priſoners to court.

The king makes war upon the princes of the Decan.

The ambaſſadors which the king had diſpatched to the Decan, having about this time returned, brought advices that their propoſals were rejected with contempt by the princes of that country. The king therefore reſolved to reduce them to obedience, and for that purpoſe ordered prince Danial, in the year 1002, with a great army towards the Decan: but before Danial had reached Sultanpoor, the king changed his mind and recalled him, giving the command of the ſame army to Chan Chanan, with orders to proceed.

Mirza

Mirza Ruſtum prince of Candahar, being driven this year to difficulties by his own brothers and the Uſbecks, came to court and preſented the king with the fort of Candahar, for which he had the government of Moultan conferred upon him, and was ranked among the Omrahs of the empire. A. D. 1593. Higer. 1002.

Chan Chanan in the mean time having arrived at Mindu, Burhan Shaw ſent Anact Chan with profeſſions of entire ſubmiſſion, but falling ſick at the ſame time, he died in the year 1003. His ſon Ibrahim ſucceeding him in the kingdom of Berar, was killed ſoon after in battle againſt Adil Shaw. Miah Munju Jan Beg his Vizier, ſet up Ahmed, a young child of the family of Nizam ul Muluck, upon the throne: but the Omrahs diſſented from this meaſure, rebelled againſt him, and beſieged Miah Munju in Ahmednagur. The vizier finding himſelf driven to diſtreſs, ſent a perſon to Ahmedabad with an ambaſſy to the prince Murad, inviting him to come to his aſſiſtance, and he would put him in poſſeſſion of the fort. Murad having at that time received orders from his father to march into the Decan, with the army from Guzerat, gladly embraced this propoſal, and ſet out with great expedition. When Chan Chanan, who had been lying all this time idle at Mundu, heard of the prince's march, he began to beſtir himſelf, and with his own army and thoſe of Mirza Sharoch governor of Malava, Shabas Chan Cumbo, Raja Jaggernot, Raja Durga, Raja Ram Chund, and others, marched towards the Decan, and on his way induced Raja Alli Chan prince of Chandez, to join him with ſix thouſand horſe. He ſoon after joined his force with that of prince Murad at Callenach on the borders of the Decan, and this numerous army, march by march, continued its rout to Amednagur.

The Mogul army enters that country.

Prince Murad invited to Ahmednagur.

A. D. 1594. Higer. 1003.

Ahmednagur beſieged by the Moguls.

Miah Munju had by this time quelled the rebellion, and repented of his having called the prince: he therefore laid in a ſtore of proviſions in the place, and committed it to the government of Chand Bibi, the daughter of Huſſein Nizam ul Muluck, with a ſtrong garriſon, and retreated himſelf with the remainder of his army and a large train of artillery, towards the borders of Adil Shaw's dominions. Prince Murad and Chan Chanan laid ſiege to Ahmednagur in the month of Ribbi ul Sani 1004: they employed themſelves in carrying on approaches, raiſing mounts, erecting batteries, and ſinking mines; while Chand Bibi defended the place with a manly reſolution, and wrote to Adil Shaw for aſſiſtance. At the end of three months, the beſieged had carried five mines under the wall and baſtions: the beſiegers deſtroyed two of the mines by counter-mines, and continued to ſearch for the others.

Bravery of the garriſon.

The prince upon the firſt of Regib, having prepared for the aſſault, ſet fire to the trains, upon which the three charged mines taking effect, blew up fifty yards of the wall: but when the Moguls waited in expectation of blowing up two mines, the beſieged recovered from their ſurprize, and defended the breach with great bravery. The valiant female leader appeared veil'd, at their head, and gave orders with ſuch prudence and ſpirit, that the aſſailants were beat off in their repeated attempts: the heroine ſtood all night by the workmen, and the breach was filled up before day, with wood, ſtones, earth, and dead bodies.

The Moguls come to a treaty with the beſieged.

In the mean time it was rumoured abroad, that Joheil Chan, the chief eunuch of Adil Shaw was upon his march in conjunction with the forces of Nizam ul Muluck, with an army of ſeventy thouſand horſe, to raiſe the ſiege: there being at the ſame

ſame time a ſcarcity of proviſions in the Mogul camp, the prince and Chan Chanan thought it adviſeable to enter into treaty with the beſieged. It was ſtipulated by Chand Bibi, that the prince ſhould keep poſſeſſion of Berar, and that Ahmednagûr and its dependencies, ſhould remain with her in the name of Bahader, the grandſon of Burhan Shaw. A. D. 1595. Higer. 1004.

The ſiege is raiſed.

Theſe terms being ratified, the prince and Chan Chanan marched towards Berar, and repairing the town of Shapoor, near Battapoor, took up their cantonments in that place. The prince eſpouſed here with great magnificence the daughter of Bahader, the ſon of Raja Alli Chan, and divided the province of Berar among his Omrahs. Shabas Chan Cumbo being about this time diſguſted with ſome indignities offered him by the prince, left Murad with all his forces, and marched without leave to to Malava.

The troops of Ahmednagur invade Berar.

Chand Bibi having reſigned her command of Ahmednagur to Bahader, the grandſon of Burhan Shaw, Abeck Chan an Abyſſinian, and other chiefs, took up the reins of government, which he was too weak to hold with ſteadineſs, and contrary to the advice of Chand Bibi, marched with fifty thouſand horſe towards Berar, to expel the prince. Chan Chanan leaving the prince and Mahummud Jadoe Chan in Shapoor, marched with twenty thouſand horſe to oppoſe the enemy on the banks of a river in that country, called the Gang. Having ſtopt for ſome days to inform himſelf of the ſituation and ſtrength of the enemy, he forded the river and drew up on the oppoſite bank, on the 17th of Jimmad ul Sani 1005. Joheil Chan who commanded the ſuccours ſent by Adil Shaw, taking the chief command, drew up before the Moguls, the troops of Nizam ul Muluck on the right, thoſe of Cuttub ul Muluck on the left, and his own in the cen-

A. D. 1596. Higer. 1005.

ter. He then advanced, carrying in his face the inſolence of his own proweſs, mixed with a contempt for the enemy.

A drawn battle.

Chan Chanan poſted himſelf in the center to receive him: Raja Alli Chan and Raja Ram Chund being at the head of a body of Herawils in his front, to begin the attack. The charge was made with ſuch intrepidity on the ſide of the Moguls, that they broke through the Herawils of the enemy, and fell upon Joheil Chan. They were however repulſed by a heavy diſcharge of artillery, ſmall arms and rockets, which did great execution particularly among the Rajaputs and the troops of Chandez, who advanced under Raja Alli Chan and Raja Ram Chund. Both thoſe chiefs were killed, with above three thouſand of their horſe. The center being broke, the Uſbecks and Moguls on the left wing gave way alſo, and Joheil Chan remained maſter of the field on that ſide: but Chan Chanan, who had ſhifted his poſt to the right during the action, had made an impreſſion there, and was purſuing the enemy, without knowing what had happened on the left. Night in the mean time coming on, and Joheil Chan equally ignorant of what had happened on his left, thought he had gained a complete victory: he however contented himſelf, as it was now dark, with keeping poſſeſſion of the field, and permitted his troops to plunder the baggage. To ſecure their plunder, half of his army deſerted to lodge their ſpoils in places of ſecurity. Joheil Chan with the remainder ſat in the dark, without knowing whither to proceed.

Chan Chanan in the mean time returning from the purſuit, fell in with Joheil Chan's artillery, within a ſmall diſtance of that General, and thinking the enemy entirely routed, determined to remain there till morning with the few that continued with him, for by far the greater part of his army thinking

thinking themſelves defeated, had fled full ſpeed to Shapoor. A. D. 1596. Higet. 1005.
While things were in this perplexing ſituation, Joheil Chan's troops began to light up fires and flambeaus where they ſtood, having heard that Chan Chanan was near. The Mogul General being informed alſo by his ſpies, that the enemy was in his neighbourhood, he ordered ſome pieces of artillery to be loaded and fired among them, which threw them into great confuſion. Joheil Chan immediately ordered all the fires to be extinguiſhed, and ſhifting his ground, ſent ſcouts all round to collect ſuch of his troops as were diſperſed over the plain and in the adjacent villages.

In the mean time Chan Chanan blew his trumpets and beat to arms, according to his manner, which being heard by ſuch of his troops as were diſperſed over the field, they haſtened towards him in ſmall detachments. Several of the Moguls meeting with others of the enemy in the dark, they fought and formed ſuch a ſcene of horror and confuſion, as is not eaſy to be deſcribed; while Allah! Allah! reſounded from all ſides, and every eye was fixed upon the eaſt in expectation of the dawn. When the day exalted his beams, Joheil Chan was ſeen marching towards the Moguls with twelve thouſand horſe. Though the army of Chan Chanan did not exceed four thouſand, he determined once more to diſpute the field, and formed his line to oppoſe the enemy. The battle now joined with redoubled fury on both ſides, but Joheil Chan after exhibiting the moſt daring acts of valor, ſunk at laſt under fatigue and wounds, and fell from his horſe. A body of his dependants bore him inſtantly off: his army according to cuſtom followed him, and left Chan Chanar maſter of a bloody field. Chan Chanan in no condition to purſue the run-a-ways, returned to Shapoor, to join the prince and the reſt of his army.

A. D. 1596. Higer. 1005. The king returns from Lahore.

Akbar having about this time received advice of the death of Abdulla Chan the Uſbeck, who had long threatened an invaſion from the north, returned in ſecurity from Lahore to Agra. Having in that city heard of Chan Chanan's victory, he ſent him a chelat and a fine horſe, as marks of his particular favor. As private animoſities had long ſubſiſted between the prince and Chan Chanan, which being much inflamed by the intrigues of Mahummud Chan, now roſe to a dangerous height; the king therefore thought it imprudent to leave them longer together: he diſpatched Shech Euſoph Chan Muſhaddi and Shech Abul Fazil * to the prince, and in the year 1006, recalled Chan Chanan to the preſence. But though the whole miſunderſtanding had plainly ſprung from the prince's froward and jealous diſpoſition, the king's reſentment fell upon that great man, and he remained a long time in diſgrace.

Chan Chanan recalled to court.

Tranſactions in Berar.

Prince Murad dies.

Seid Euſoph Chan, and Seid Abul Fazil, in a ſhort time reduced the forts of Narnalla, Kavile, Kerlah, and others, in the province of Berar; but the prince Murad falling ſick, died in the month of Shawal 1007, and was firſt buried in Shapoor, but by the king's orders the body was afterwards removed to Agra, and laid by the ſide of his grandfather Humaioon. The king's grief for the death of his ſon, inſtead of extinguiſhing his deſire of conquering the Decan, only enflamed it the more, to divert his mind from ſorrow. In the mean time the Omrahs of Nizam ul Muluck having gained ſome ſlight advantages, defeated Shere Chaja one of the king's Omrahs, who poſſeſſed the country of Bere, and beſieged him in his fort. Seid Euſoph Chan and Abul Fazil were ſo much inferior to the enemy in number, that they durſt not venture upon an engagement.

* The celebrated hiſtorian.

The

A. D. 1598. Higer. 1007.

Chan Chanan ſent againſt the Decan, and is followed by the king.

The king alarmed at this diſaſter, reſtored Chan Chanan to favor, and required his daughter Jana Begum for his ſon Danial in marriage. He then diſpatched him with that prince, and a well appointed army, to carry on the war in the Decan, and moved the Imperial ſtandard that way in the 1008 of the Higera, leaving his dominions under the charge of the Shaw Zadda, Sultan Selim. In the mean time the prince Danial and Chan Chanan, entered the Decan, and as Bahader, the ſon of Raja Alli Chan, was not found like his father, firm to his allegiance, and had ſhut himſelf up in Aſere, they halted upon the banks of the Gang, near Pattan, and endeavored to perſuade him over to their intereſt. In the mean time the king had reached Mindu, and diſpatched orders to them to proceed to Ahmednagur, and inveſt that fort: for that he himſelf would take up Aſere in his way.

Chan Chanan and prince Danial inveſt Ahmednagur.

The prince and Chan Chanan accordingly marched with about thirty thouſand horſe towards Ahmednagur. Abhing Chan Buchſi and other Omrahs of the Decan, fled from that city, and left the Moguls to inveſt the place. The king firſt endeavored to bring over Bahader by fair means, but he would not liſten to terms. Akbar therefore marched to Burhanpoor, and ſent his Omrahs to beſiege Aſere, which lay only three crores from that place. After the ſiege had continued a conſiderable time, the air in the place on account of the number of troops which were cooped up in it, became very unhealthy. This occaſioned a peſtilence which ſweeped the Hindoos off in great numbers. Bahader, though he had ſtill troops ſufficient for the defence of the place, as well as a large magazine of warlike ſtores, and proviſions in abundance, permitted deſpair to ſtain the current of his mind.

A. D. 1600. Higer. 1009.

Ahmednagur taken.

The ſiege of Ahmednagur was in the mean time carried on with great vigor, by Chan Chanan and the prince. The city was at length carried by a ſtratagem, executed by Chaja Abul Huſſein Turbutti. This we ſhall have occaſion to relate minutely in the hiſtory of the Decan. Ahmednagur was taken in the beginning of the year 1009: the ſtrong fortreſs of Aſere, ſome months after, was ſurrendered to the king: an immenſe treaſure which had been accumulating there, for many ages, fell into Akbar's hands, with all the wealth of Ahmednagur.

Part of the Decan ſubmits.

Ibrahim Adil Shaw king of Bijapoor, one of the four principalities of the Decan, having ſolicited peace and paid homage, reconciled the king, who demanded Adil's daughter in marriage for his ſon Danial. Jummal Huſſein Anjou was accordingly diſpatched to bring the bride and Peſhcuiſh from Bijanagur. The king reduced Aſere, Birhanpoor, Ahmednagur, and Berar, into the form of a province, and conferred the government upon Danial, under the tuition and direction of Chan Chanan. The king after theſe tranſactions returned in triumph to the city of Agra, and in the year 1011, annexed his acquiſitions in the Decan, to his other royal titles in a proclamation.

Death of the hiſtorian Abul Fazil.

Akbar having in the courſe of the year 1011, recalled Sheck Abul Fazil from the Decan, that great man was unfortunately attacked near Narwar, by a body of banditti of Orcha Rajaputs, who cut him off with a part of his retinue, merely to rob him of his wealth, and not at the inſtigation of prince Danial, as has been maliciouſly and falſely reported by ſome writers.

In the 1013 of the Higera, Jummal Huſſein Anjou who had been diſpatched to Bijapoor, returned with the royal bride, and

and the ſtipulated tribute. He delivered the young Sultana to Danial, upon the banks of the Gang near Pattan, where the nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and magnificence. Huſſein Anjou the embaſſador, after the ceremony was over, proceeded to the king at Agra. A. D. 1604. Higer. 1013.

Upon the firſt of Zehidge of the year 1013, the prince Danial died of a debauch in the city of Burhanpoor. His death and the manner of it ſo much affected the king, who was in a declining ſtate of health, that he every day became worſe, till upon the 13th of Jemmad ul Sani in the year 1014, he left that world through which he moved with ſo much luſtre, after having reigned fifty-one years, and ſome months. Prince Danial dies. Akbar dies.

Mahummud Akbar was a prince endued with many ſhining virtues. His generoſity was great, and his clemency without bounds: this latter virtue he often carried beyond the bounds of prudence, and in many inſtances paſt the limits of that juſtice which he owed to the ſtate; but his daring ſpirit made this noble error ſeem to proceed from a generous diſpoſition, and not from an effeminate weakneſs of mind. His character.

His character as a warrior was rather that of an intrepid partizan, than of a great general: he expoſed his perſon with unpardonable raſhneſs, and often attempted capital points without uſing that power which at the time he poſſeſſed.——But fortune and a daring ſoul ſupplied the place of conduct in Akbar: he brought about at once by deſperate means, what calm caution would take much time to accompliſh. This circumſtance ſpread the terror of the name of this ſon of true glory ſo wide, that Hindoſtan, ever ſubject to the convulſions of rebellion, became ſettled and calm in his preſence. He raiſed a wall

of diſciplined valor * againſt the powers of the north, and by his own activity inſpired his Omrahs with enterprize.

He loved glory to exceſs, and thirſted after a reputation for perſonal valor: he encouraged learning with the bounty of kings, and delighted in hiſtory, which is in truth the ſchool of ſovereigns. As his warm and active diſpoſition prompted him to perform actions worthy of the divine pen of the poet, ſo he was particularly fond of heroic compoſitions in verſe.—In ſhort, the faults of Akbar were virtues carried to extremes; and if he ſometimes did things beneath the dignity of a great king, he never did any thing unworthy of a good man.

* Soldiers.

APPENDIX*.

HISTORY

OF THE

MOGUL EMPIRE,

FROM

Its decline, in the Reign of MAHUMMUD SHAW, to the Preſent Times.

SECTION I.

General Obſervations.---The Succeſſion, from AKBAR to MAHUMMUD SHAW. The growing Imbecillity of the Empire.---Governors of the Provinces aſſume Independence. Their Intrigues at the Court of Delhi.---The Invaſion of NADIR SHAW.

MAHUMMUD CASIM FERISHTA, the author of the preceding hiſtory, finiſhes his account of the kings of Delhi with the death of Akbar. The tranſlator is ſtill in hopes of being able to procure original and authentic hiſtories of the empire of Hindoſtan, from that period down to the preſent times. He, therefore, will not break in

upon his deſign of giving, ſome time or other, to the public, a complete hiſtory of the reigns of the poſterity of Timur in India, by retailing the very imperfect accounts already publiſhed in Europe.

But as, to tranſlate from the Perſian language is a taſk of labor and difficulty, his engaging further, in works of this kind, will depend entirely upon the reception the public ſhall give to his firſt attempt in that way. If he ſhall find that he is not capable to acquit himſelf, in ſome degree, to the ſatisfaction of the world, he will, in prudence, lay down his pen; and leave that field to men of greater abilities, who may hereafter turn their thoughts to the ſubject.

The tranſactions of the court of Delhi, ſince the invaſion of Nadir Shaw, are very little known in the Weſt. They have not, even in Aſia, been hitherto committed to writing; and if the preſent confuſions of the Mogul empire ſhall long continue, it is probable the memory of them will die with thoſe who were principally concerned in them. This conſideration has induced the tranſlator of Ferishta's hiſtory, to throw together the moſt material events, which happened in the empire, ſince the memorable irruption of the Perſians, in the year 1738. He derives his authority, for ſome of the facts, from a Perſian manuſcript, now in his hands, concerning ſix years of the reign of Mahummud Shaw; and as to the reſt, he principally follows a ſhort ſketch of the affairs of the empire, given to him in writing, by his intimate friend the Rai Raiân, ſecretary of ſtate to the preſent mogul.

To continue the line of connection, between the preceding hiſtory and the reign of Mahummud Shaw, who ſat upon the throne of Delhi when the invaſion of Nadir Shaw happened, it may not be improper, juſt to mention the ſucceſſion of the kings, from

from Akbar to that period. It is neceſſary to obſerve, that, after conſulting the moſt authentic Perſian hiſtories, the author of this account finds himſelf obliged to differ from all the European writers, who have treated on the ſubject, with regard to the duration of moſt of the reigns.

Upon the death of Akbar, his ſon Selim aſcended the throne, in Agra, upon Thurſday the 20th of Jemmad ul Sani, in the 1014 year of the Higera. He, upon his acceſſion, aſſumed the title of JEHANGIRE, and reigned twenty-two years, nine months, and twenty days, with much more reputation and ſucceſs than could have been expected of ſo weak a prince. His death happened upon Sunday the 28th of Siffer, in the 1037 year of the Higera. A. D. 1605

SULTAN KURRUM, the third ſon of Jehangire, mounted the throne at Agra, upon the 8th of Jemmad ul Sani, in the year 1037, and, under the title of SHAW JEHAN, reigned thirty-two years, three months, and twenty days. He was depoſed by his third ſon, the famous Aurungzebe, who dated the commencement of his reign, from the firſt of Ramzan, in the 1069 of the Higera. Aurungzebe, upon his acceſſion, took the name of Allumgire *. 1627

ALLUMGIRE, having reigned fifty years, two months, and twenty-eight days, died, in a very advanced age, at Ahmednagur, in the Decan, upon Friday the 28th of Zicada, in the 1119 of the Higera. 1648

* Though Shaw Jehan was confined during the time his four rebellious ſons, Dara Shekoh, Sultan Suja, Aurungzebe, and Morad Bukſh, contended for the crown, yet as Aurungzebe prevailed over his brothers, and dated his reign from the year 1069, we have included the time of the civil wars in the reign of his father.

1707 Mahummud Mauzim, Aurungzebe's ſecond ſon, ſucceeded his father in the throne, under the title of BAHADAR SHAW. He died, after a ſhort reign of four years and eleven months, and was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon, Moaz ul Dien.

1712 Moaz ul Dien, under the title of JEHANDAR SHAW, reigned eighteen months. Some writers do not include him in the ſucceſſion of kings, as the ſucceeding emperor, the ſon of Azim ul Shaw, the ſecond ſon of Bahadar Shaw, under the name of Firrochſere, dated his reign from the death of his grandfather.

1713 FIRROCHSERE, according to his own computation, reigned ſix years. He was blinded, and afterwards put to death, by the two SEIDS, upon the 12th of Jammad ul Sani, in the 1130 of the Higera.

1717 RAFFEIH UL DIRJAT, the ſon of Raffeih ul Shaw, the third ſon of Bahadar Shaw, was raiſed to the throne, by the ambitious Seids; and after a nominal reign of three months, was put to death by the ſame faction, by whoſe intereſt he had obtained the crown.---His brother RAFFEIH UL DOWLAT ſucceeded him; but he died in a few days.

1718 MAHUMMUD SHAW, the ſon of Jehan Shaw, and grandſon of Bahadar Shaw, acceded to the throne of Delhi, in the month of Shawal of the year 1130 of the Higera.---Mahummud Shaw, having rid himſelf of the two Seids, Abdalla Chan, and Haſſen Chan, who had ſo long tyrannized in the empire, raiſing and depoſing kings at pleaſure, gave himſelf wholly up to indolence, and the enervating pleaſures of the Haram. The diſtractions, before Mahummud's acceſſion, occaſioned principally by the ambition of the Seids, gave the firſt mortal wound to the Mogul empire, under which it has ever ſince languiſhed. Moſt of the Omrahs, either

either envying or dreading the power of the Seids, formed ambitious ſchemes of independence in their reſpective provinces, which the aparent debility of the regal authority very much favored.

Cuttulich Chan, who, as Nizam ul muluck, commanded all the provinces of the Decan, being ſenſible of the weakneſs of Mahummud, maintained a great ſtanding army, under a pretence of keeping the unſubdued Hindoo Rajas and Mahrattor * chiefs in awe. But the real deſign of this force was to found an independent kingdom for the Nizam in the Decan, as Haſſen Caco Bemeni had done in the reign of Tuglick Shaw †.

To facilitate his ambitious views, the Nizam ul muluck began to extend his power in the Decan, by the reduction of the neighbouring Rajas. Though the revenues of his government muſt have been very conſiderably increaſed by theſe conqueſts, he remitted none to the Delhi; and, at the ſame time, to weaken the empire, he encouraged, or at leaſt, permitted the Mahrattors to make hoſtile incurſions into the interior provinces. Theſe irregular marauders ravaged the kingdoms of Malava, Narvar, Biana and Ajmere, in ſuch a manner, that no revenues could be paid by the unfortunate inhabitants.

The weak Mahummud, inſtead of checking this inſolence by the ſword, diſgraced the dignity of the houſe of Timur, by ſubmitting to become, in a manner, tributary to theſe deſpicable banditti. He agreed to pay them the Chout, or fourth part of the revenues of thoſe provinces, which had been ſubject to their

* Theſe are they, who are known in Europe, under the disfigured name of Marattoes.

† This Haſſen Caco mounted the throne at Kilbirga in the Decan, which city he called from himſelf, Haſſen-abad, upon the 24th of Ribbi ul Achir, in the 748 of the Higera. He aſſumed the title of ſultan Alla ul Dien.

depre-

depredations. From this puſillanimous conduct of Mahummud, we may date the irretrievable decline of the Mogul empire. That opinion, which ſupports government in every country, was now deſtroyed in India; and each petty chieftain began to ſtart into a prince, as he had nothing to fear from a government which had betrayed ſuch evident ſymptoms of timidity.

Chan Dowran Sumſam ul Dowla was, at this time, Amir ul Omrah, or captain-general of the empire. As the offices of paymaſter-general and commander in chief of the troops are injudiciouſly joined in one perſon, in Hindoſtan, Chan Dowran had ſuch an influence in the ſtate, that he engroſſed to himſelf all the miniſterial power. He left, in ſhort, nothing but their names in the government to the king and his vizier, Kimmir ul Dien Chan.

Chan Dowran was ſly, artful, inſinuating; of an active and intriguing diſpoſition; in appearance aſſuming no authority, when, at the ſame time, he directed every thing. He executed, in public, as by the king's orders, whatever he himſelf had reſolved upon in private. As the indolent Mahummud was even averſe to the trouble of thinking, the ſuggeſtions of this artful Omrah, who was full of plauſibility, and prompt to execute whatever he adviſed, were always grateful to the royal ear. The captain-general, though perſonally brave, permitted his maſter's authority to be daily inſulted by deſpicable enemies. He foreſaw that to take the field, without the king, would probably put an end to his influence over him; for he knew that the diſpoſition of Mahummud was fickle and inconſtant; and apt to be ſwayed to any thing, by every artful perſon near him.

Dowran made many unſucceſsful attempts to perſuade Mahummud to accompany him to the field. The diſſolute monarch was not to be removed from the luxurious indolence of the

palace. The Mahrattors, in the mean time, continued their inroads. They ravaged the province of Guzerat, and raiſed the Chout as far as the Indus. They returned back from that river, by the way of Ajmere and Biana, and ſpread their devaſtations to the very gates of Agra.

The captain-general, though much againſt his inclination, found himſelf obliged to march againſt theſe plunderers. But, inſtead of chaſtiſing them, he ingloriouſly promiſed to pay them the Chout, upon condition they ſhould immediately evacuate the provinces.

The barbarians, gaining courage by this ſubmiſſion, and truſting very little to promiſes extorted by fear, from Dowran, croſſed the Jumna, near Calpee, with a deſign to plunder the province of Oud. Sadit Chan, who then poſſeſſed that ſubaſhip, oppoſed them, between the rivers in the diſtrict of Korah, and gave them a total defeat. They fled to Feridabad near Delhi, whither they were cloſely purſued by Sadit, who had, on his way, joined the imperial army under Dowran.

Before the united armies under Dowran and Sadit came up, the Mahrattors made an attempt to plunder Delhi. They were oppoſed, without the walls, by two imperial Omrahs, Haſſen Chan and Amir Chan, the former of whom was killed in the action. The Mahrattors had now poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſuburbs, when Kimmir the vizier, coming up with an army, put them to flight. But notwithſtanding theſe repeated defeats, the Mahrattors found means to retreat, with a great booty to the Decan.

The king and his miniſters, finding that the Nizam of the Decan favored the incurſions of the Mahrattors, deviſed many

ſchemes

ſchemes to inveigle him to court, that they might deprive him either of his life or government. The crafty Nizam, penetrating into their deſigns, conceived an implacable reſentment againſt Chan Dowran, who, he knew, was at the bottom of the whole affair. But as the empire, notwithſtanding its growing imbecillity, was ſtill ſufficiently ſtrong to reduce the Nizam, had he broke forth in open rebellion, he thought it moſt prudent to obey the royal command. He, however, previouſly, ſtrengthened his intereſt at court, by a coalition with many great Omrahs, who were diſguſted with the inſolence of Dowran.

Cuttulich Chan, having taken a ſtep ſo neceſſary for his own ſafety, ſet out for court, leaving his ſon Ghazi ul Dien in the government of the Decan. He arrived at Agra, with a retinue, or rather an army of 20000 men; and, as he held the office of Vakeel Muttuluch *, he expected to command Chan Dowran, and to draw all the reins of government into his own hands.

Sadit Chan, Suba of Oud, pluming himſelf upon his ſucceſs againſt the Mahrattors, aſpired to the miniſterial power. The king continued to favor Dowran, and to ſupport him againſt the Nizam; for, however weak Mahummud was, he could not but ſee through that ambitious governor's deſigns, by his behavior for ſome years back. But, as the Nizam had, upon the ſpot, a force to protect his perſon, and a ſtrong party at court; and as his ſon, a man of great parts, commanded all the provinces of the Decan, the king was aſſured, that to deprive Cuttulich Chan of his government, would occaſion a revolt, which, in its conſequences, might prove fatal to the royal houſe of Timur.

In the mean time, Sadit Chan, finding that he could not effect any thing againſt the united intereſts of the Nizam and vizier,

* For the nature of this office ſee the preface.

who

who had joined factions, was eaſily brought over to their party. The terms of this coalition were, that when the Nizam and Vizier ſhould force themſelves into the management of the affairs of government, Sadit Chan ſhould be appointed buckſhi *, with the title of Amir ul omrah, which Dowran at that time poſſeſſed.

The acceſſion of Sadit and his party did not render the faction of the Nizam and Vizier ſufficiently ſtrong to turn Dowran from his high employ. He had abſolute poſſeſſion of the royal ear, and the army, who depended upon him for their pay, remained firm to his intereſt. The faction of the malcontents was reduced to deſpair; and Nizam ul muluck, to gratify his reſentment againſt Dowran, concerted, with Sadit, a plan, which gave the laſt ſtroke to the tottering authority of the crown.

The famous Nadir Shaw, king of Perſia, was, at this juncture, in the province of Candahar. The diſaffected Omrahs reſolved to invite him to Hindoſtan. They foreſaw that a Perſian invaſion would occaſion confuſions and diſtractions in the empire, which muſt facilitate their own ſchemes of independence in their reſpective governments; it muſt, at any rate, ruin Chan Dowran, which was a very capital object to men poſſeſſed of ſuch inveterate animoſities againſt that miniſter.

Whether the Nizam did not even extend his views to the empire itſelf, admits of ſome doubt. Many ſenſible men in India think that he did; and affirm, that his opinion was, that Nadir Shaw would depoſe Mahummud; and, to ſecure his conqueſt, extirpate the family of Timur: he argued with himſelf, that as it was not probable that the Perſian would fix his reſidence in Hindoſtan, he hoped, for his ſervices, to ſecure to himſelf the vice-

* Paymaſter-general of the forces.

A. D. 1738. royſhip of that empire; and that afterwards time and circumſtances would point out the line of his future proceedings.

Full of theſe ambitious projects, and at the ſame time to avenge himſelf of his political enemy, the Nizam, in conjunction with Sadit, wrote to Nadir Shaw. That monarch received their letters at Candahar, and, in an anſwer to them, pointed out many difficulties which he had to ſurmount in the propoſed invaſion. He repreſented to them, that it would be extremely difficult to penetrate even into Cabul and Peſhawir, which provinces Naſir Chan had governed for twenty years, with great reputation, and kept in pay a formidable army of Moguls and Afgans: that ſhould he even force his way through the government of Naſir, there were five great rivers to croſs in Punjâb, where Zekirriah Chan, ſubadâr of Lahore, would certainly oppoſe him; and that even ſhould he get over thoſe obſtacles, the imperial army ſtill remained to be defeated.

Nizam ul muluck, and his colleague in treaſon, endeavoured to remove the king's objections, by aſſuring him, that they would bring over the governors of the frontier provinces to their faction; and that, as they themſelves commanded one half of the imperial army, little danger was to be dreaded from the other. Nadir Shaw began his march from Candahar, with a
March. great army, about the vernal equinox of the 1149 of the Higera. He took the rout of Ghizni, and the governor of that city came out with preſents, and ſubmitted himſelf and the province to the king, agreeing to pay the uſual revenues to Perſia. Nadir Shaw continued his march from Ghizni to Cabul, which city he immediately inveſted. Shirza Chan, an omra of ſeventy years of age, was, at this time, governor of Cabul. Being ſummoned,

he

he refuſed to ſurrender, and made the proper diſpoſitions for an obſtinate defence. A. D. 1738.

The king of Perſia finding that neither fair promiſes nor threats could induce Shirza to open the gates of Cabul, aſſaulted the place for ſix days together. In this deſperate manner, many of the braveſt ſoldiers, who ſuffer moſt upon theſe occaſions, fell; without making any impreſſion on the beſieged: upon the ſeventh day, Nadir Shaw found means to bring over to his party Naſir Chan, governor of the province of Cabul, the ſon of that Naſir, who was, for twenty years, ſubadâr of Peſhawir. That traitor, with the provincial army, preſented himſelf at that gate of the city which was oppoſite to the ſide of the attack, and ſent a letter to the gallant Shirza. He requeſted immediate admittance to the place, to prevent his being cut off by the enemy; inſinuating, that his forces, when joined with the garriſon, would be a match for the Perſians in the field.

The unfortunate Shirza, not ſuſpecting the treachery of the young Omrah, conſented to receive within the walls the women and baggage of the provincial army; but inſiſted that the troops ſhould encamp before the gate, till they ſhould conſult together what was beſt to be done upon this urgent occaſion.

The women and baggage were accordingly admitted, with a proper guard, and Shirza, with a few attendants, went out to have an interview with Naſir. No ſooner was Shirza out of the city, than the king of Perſia began a general aſſault; while one Abdul Rahim, an officer of the traitor Naſir, ſeized upon Shirza, and confined him.

A. D. 1738. The two ſons of Shirza, ignorant of their father's fate, in the mean time defended the gates with great firmneſs and reſolution; till one of them was killed by that part of Naſir's army that had been admitted into the city. The remaining brother, in this deſperate ſituation, knew not which enemy he ought to oppoſe, while the garriſon, ſtruck with terror and confuſion, deſerted their poſts upon the wall. Nadir Shaw took advantage of this panick, forced open the gates, took the place, maſſacred many of the inhabitants, and inhumanly put to death the gallant Shirza Chan and his ſon.

The king of Perſia found in the treaſury of Cabul two crores of roupees, and effects to the value of two crores more: in theſe were included four thouſand complete ſuits of armour, inlaid with gold; four thouſand of poliſhed ſteel, four thouſand mails for horſes, and a great quantity of fine tiſſues and dreſſes, depoſited in Cabul by Shaw Jehan. Nadir Shaw remained at Cabul ſeven months, before he would attempt to croſs the Indus. He, in the mean time, kept up a correſpondence with the conſpirators in Delhi, and maturely ſettled his plan of operations. He, at length, put his army in motion, and directed his march to Piſhawir.

Naſir Chan, ſubadar of Piſhawir, had wrote, repeatedly, to the court of Delhi, for ſuccours; but Chan Dowran, in his anſwers, affected to deſpiſe the king of Perſia; and inſinuated, that it was impoſſible he could meditate the conqueſt of Hindoſtan. He, however, promiſed, from time to time, that he himſelf would march with the imperial army, and drive the invader back to Perſia. The diſaffected Omrahs wrote, at the ſame time, to Naſir, to make the beſt terms he could with Nadir

Shaw; for that there was little hopes of his being reinforced with any part of the royal army. A. D. 1738.

Nafir Chan, finding himſelf neglected by the court, after a faint reſiſtance, ſurrendered himſelf priſoner to the king of Perſia, upon the 20th of Shabân. He was ſoon after taken into favor by that monarch, and appointed one of his viziers. Nadir Shaw had, by this time, croſſed the Attock or the Nilâb, one of the moſt conſiderable of the five branches of the Indus. He iſſued out an order to ravage the country, to ſpread the terror of his arms far and wide. Novemb. 20.

Daily advices of the approach of the Perſians came to Delhi. A general conſternation among the people, and a diſtraction in the councils of the government enſued. The king and his miniſter, Dowran, were ſo weak, that either they did not ſuſpect the treachery of the diſaffected Omrahs, or took no meaſures to prevent their deſigns. New obſtacles were daily thrown in the way of the military preparations of Dowran, till the Nizam and his colleagues thought, that the procraſtination which they had occaſioned, had ſufficiently weakened the imperial cauſe.

Upon the firſt of Ramzan, the Vizier, the Nizam ul muluck, and Dowran, incamped without the city, with a great train of artillery, and began to levy forces. Nadir Shaw, during theſe tranſactions, croſſed the Bea, and on the firſt of Shawal appeared before Lahore. Zekeriah Chan, governor of the city and province, who was incamped with 5000 horſe before the walls, retreated into the city. He, the next day, marched out and attacked the Perſians. A general rout of his army was the conſequence, and the conquerors were ſo cloſe to the heels of the run-aways, that they poſſeſſed themſelves of the gates.---Zekeriah December 1.

1739. January.

A. D. 1739. Keriah waited immediately upon Nadir Shaw, with a nazir of half a lack of roupees, was politely received by that monarch, and Lahore was preſerved from being plundered.

The king of Perſia continued his march towards Delhi, and, February 14. upon the 14th of Zicada, appeared in ſight of the imperial army. Mahammed Shaw was incamped upon the plains of Karnal; ſo that only the canal, which ſupplied Delhi with water, divided the armies. The Moguls had only poſſeſſed themſelves of that ground about two days before the arrival of Nadir Shaw, and had thrown up entrenchments and redoubts before them, mounted with five hundred pieces of artillery. The army, which the king now commanded in perſon, conſiſted of 150,000 horſe, excluſive of irregular infantry. This unweildy body of militia was compoſed of all ſorts of people, collected indiſcriminately in the provinces, by the Omrahs, who thought that a ſufficient number of men and horſes was all that was neceſſary to form a good army. Subordination was a thing unknown in the Mogul camp: the private ſoldier, as well as the Omrah, acted only by the impulſe of his own mind.

The Perſians, though not ſo numerous as the Moguls, were under ſome degree of regulation. The rank of Nadir Shaw's officers was determined; and his own commands were inſtantly and implicitly obeyed. Severe to exceſs, he pardoned no neglect or diſobedience in his Omrahs. He has even been known to ſend an eſſawil * to a general, at the head of 5000 horſe; with orders to make him halt and receive corporal puniſhment, for a miſdemeanor, in the front of his own men. Though this rigor may be thought in Europe too tyrannical and repugnant to a military ſpirit; yet, in a country where the principles of honor are

* A mace-bearer.

little

little known, fear is the ſtrongeſt motive to a ſtrict performance of duty. A. D. 1739.

Sadit Chan, upon the 14th of Zicada, having out-marched his baggage, joined the imperial army. Juſt as he was receiving an honorary dreſs from Mahummud Shaw, advice came that the Herawils of Nadir Shaw had attacked his baggage. Sadit Chan requeſted of the king to be permitted to march out againſt the Herawils. The whole of this attack was a plan concerted between Nadir Shaw and the traitor, in order to draw the Moguls from their entrenchments. The king, however, laid his commands upon Sadit to wait until the next morning, when, "by the favor of God," he intended to march out, with his whole army, to give the Perſians battle. February 24.

But ſo little did Sadit regard Mahummud's orders, that, as ſoon as he had quitted the preſence, he iſſued out with 10000 horſe, which he had brought from his government, and attacked the enemy. A mock engagement now commenced between Sadit and a part of the Perſian army; who were ordered to retreat before him. He ſent repeated meſſages, from the field to the king, requeſting more troops, and that he would drive the enemy back to Perſia.

Mahummud, juſtly incenſed at the diſobedience of Sadit, would not, for ſome time, permit any ſuccours to be ſent to him. Chan Dowran, at length, prevailed with the king to permit him, with 15000 men, to ſupport Sadit. When Chan Dowran came up to the field, Sadit, in a feigned attack, joined the Perſians, and permitted himſelf to be taken priſoner. His deſign was to get the ſtart of his partner in treaſon, Nizam ul mulluck, in engaging the Perſian monarch in his intereſt.

In

In the mean time, the troops of Sadit being ſtrangers to the treachery of their commander, joined Chan Dowran, and continued the engagement. Chan Dowran was immediately attacked on all ſides, by the bulk of the Perſian army. He, however, for ſome time, maintained his ground with great firmneſs and reſolution; and was at length unwillingly drawn from the field, though he had received a wound which ſoon after proved mortal, by three repeated meſſages from the king, commanding his immediate attendance.

Mahummud Shaw was, with good reaſon, apprehenſive that Nizam ul muluck, who was then in the camp, was preparing to ſeize him, which made him ſo anxious for the preſence of Dowran. When the wounded general appeared before the king, he told him the ſituation of affairs, and earneſtly intreated him to permit him to return to the field, with the troops which were under his immediate command, as captain-general, conſiſting of 36000 men, together with two hundred pieces of cannon. "Grant my requeſt," ſaid he, "and you ſhall never ſee me re-"turn but in triumph."

The king was now perplexed beyond meaſure. He dreaded the deſigns of the Nizam, ſhould Dowran be abſent, and, at the ſame time, he durſt not permit the traitor to march out of the lines, for fear he ſhould join the Perſians. He, therefore, fell into the common error of weak minds, and heſitated, in hopes that delay would give birth to a more favorable concurrence of events.---He was deceived: the happy moment, for the preſervation of himſelf and the empire, was now upon the wing. His troops maintained ſtill their ground, under Muzziffer, the gallant brother of Dowran; and a reinforcement would turn the ſcale of victory in their favor.

When

When Chan Dowran quitted the field, the command of thoſe Moguls, who were engaged, devolved upon his brother Muzziffer. That brave Oſtrah made a violent charge upon the Perſian army, and penetrated to the very door of Nadir Shaw's tent. There, for want of being ſupported from the camp, Muzziffer, Aſſil Ali Chan, Dowran's ſon, Raja Gugermull, Meer Mullu, Eadgar Chan, and twenty-ſeven officers of diſtinction, covered one ſmall ſpot of ground with their bodies. Ten thouſand common Mogul ſoldiers were ſlain in this deſperate action; which had almoſt proved fatal to Nadir Shaw, for his whole army were upon the point of giving way; ſeveral great detachments having fled back forty miles from the field of battle. After the engagement, the few that remained of the Moguls, retired within the entrenchments *. A. D. 1738.

Chan Dowran, though wounded, had that night an interview with the Nizam ul muluck. It was agreed, that the whole army ſhould next morning march out of the lines, and attack the Perſians in their camp. But when the morning came, Chan Dowran's wound, which he had received in the arm, was ſo much inflamed, that he could not act, and, therefore, the meditated attack was delayed. In the evening of the 18th, a mortification enſued, which was then attributed to ſomething applied to the wound by a ſurgeon bribed by the Nizam; and many in India ſtill continue in the ſame belief. Be that as it will, Chan Dowran expired that night, amidſt the tears of his ſovereign, who had a great friendſhip for him. February 18.

* Fraſer ſays, that only 4000 Perſians were engaged; but we have reaſon to doubt his authority, as we derive our account from ſeveral perſons, who were preſent in the action.

A. D. 1739. When this brave Omrah, on whom alone the hopes of Mahummud Shaw reſted, was dead, Nizam ul muluck ſtood unrivalled in the management of affairs. The whole authority devolved upon him, and the king became a cypher in the midſt of his own camp. The traitor finding now the power of the empire in his hands, under a certainty of being able to diſpoſe of the king at any time, according to his own pleaſure, ſet a treaty on foot with Nadir Shaw, for the immediate return of that monarch into Perſia. So little hopes had the Perſian, at this time, of conquering the Mogul empire, that he actually agreed for the pitiful ſum of fifty lacks of roupees to evacuate Hindoſtan.

Sadit Chan, who, we have already obſerved, was in the Perſian camp, hearing of theſe tranſactions, uſed all poſſible means to break off the treaty. The regard of Nadir Shaw to his plighted faith, was not proof againſt the lucrative offers of Sadit. That Omrah promiſed to pay to the Perſian two crores of roupees out of his own private fortune, upon condition he ſhould reduce the Nizam, and place himſelf at the head of the adminiſtration.—In the mean time, the Nizam, who was now appointed Amir ul omrah, by Mahummud, finding that Nadir Shaw broke the treaty, began to talk in a high ſtrain, and to make preparations for coming to action with the Perſians, to which the king ſtrenuouſly urged him. But the active ſpirit of Nadir Shaw was not idle during theſe tranſactions. He poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral ſtrong poſts, round the Indian camp, and totally cut off their ſupplies of proviſions. The Nizam perceiving that he muſt act with great diſadvantage, if he ſhould march out of his lines and attack the Perſians, began to renew the treaty, and offered more than Sadit had done to Nadir Shaw.

Mahummud,

Mahummud, being informed that these two villains, without his communication, were making ſeparate bargains, about himſelf and his empire, and that he even had not the ſhadow of authority in his own camp, took a ſudden reſolution to throw himſelf upon the clemency of Nadir Shaw. "A declared ene- "my," ſaid he to the few friends who ſtill adhered to him, "is by no means to be dreaded ſo much as ſecret foes, under the "ſpecious character of friends." Having, therefore, previouſly acquainted the Perſian of his intentions, he ſet out in the morning of the 20th, in his travelling throne, with a ſmall retinue, for Nadir Shaw's camp. A. D. 1739. February 28.

The king of Perſia, upon the Mogul's approach, ſent his ſon, Niſir Alla Mirza, to conduct him to the royal tent. Nadir Shaw advanced a few ſteps from his Muſnid, and embraced Mahummud, and, ſitting down, placed him upon his left hand. The ſubſtance of their converſation has been already given to the public by Fraſer: and, therefore, we ſhall only obſerve here, that Nadir Shaw ſeverely reprimanded Mahummud, for his puſillanimous behaviour, in paying the Chout to the Mahrattors, and for ſuffering himſelf to be inveſted in his camp, in the very center of his dominions, without making one ſingle effort to repel the invaſion.

Nadir Shaw, after this converſation, retired to another tent, called to him his vizier, and conſulted with him what was beſt to be done with Mahummud, in this critical ſituation. The vizier told him, that, ſhould he confine the king, the Nizam, who commanded the army, would immediately act for himſelf; and, as he was an able officer, they might meet with great difficulty in reducing him. But that, ſhould the king be permitted to return to the camp with aſſurances of friendſhip and pro-

A. D. 1739. tection, a party would join Mahummud, that would, at leaſt, be a ballance againſt the influence of the Nizam.

Nadir Shaw ſaw the propriety of what his vizier adviſed. He immediately returned to the royal tent, and told Mahummud, that, as hitherto the imperial houſe of Timur had not injured the Perſians, it was far from his intentions to deprive Mahummud Shaw of his kingdom. "But," ſaid he, with a determined look, "the expence of this expedition muſt be paid, "and, during the time of collecting the money, my fatigued "army muſt refreſh themſelves in Delhi."

February 24. The emperor made little reply to Nadir Shaw's diſcourſe. He was, however, permitted to return to his camp, and the Perſian began to lay ſchemes to ſeize the Nizam. One Caſim Beg was employed in this affair. He, in Nadir Shaw's name, made the Nizam many proteſtations of friendſhip, and obtained a promiſe, that he would viſit that monarch in his camp. He accordingly, upon the 24th, ſet out, and was, immediately upon his arrival in the Perſian lines, ſeized, and, together with ſome great Omrahs who attended him, confined.

February 26. Mahummud Shaw, looking upon the Nizam's confinement as a plan laid by the traitor himſelf, in order that he might negotiate matters with the Perſian with more ſecurity, determined to pay a ſecond viſit to Nadir Shaw.---That monarch had, by this time, ſecured moſt of the Mogul omrahs, one after another, and when Mahummud, upon the 26th, arrived in the camp, a tent was pitched for him near the royal pavilion. The unfortunate Mahummud was carried into his tent, and left for ſome time alone. A collation was brought him, and he ate very heartily; without betraying any ſymptoms of being affected with his unhappy

ſituation. Nadir Shaw was greatly aſtoniſhed when he heard of Mahummud's behavior, and exclaimed: "What kind of man "muſt this be, who can, with ſo much indifference, give his "freedom and empire to the wind? But we are told, by the "wiſe, that greatneſs of mind conſiſts in two extremes: to "ſuffer patiently, or to act boldly; to deſpiſe the world, or to "exert all the powers of the mind to command it. This man "has choſen the former: but the latter was the choice of Nadir "Shaw." A.D. 1739.

Though Mahummud was hindered from returning to his own camp, he was permitted to have all his domeſtics about him, who amounted to three thouſand. A thouſand Kiſſelbaſh horſe mounted guard upon him: but this pretended honor, which was conferred upon him, was a certain badge of his forlorn condition. In the mean time, Kummir ul dien, the vizier, Surbullind Chan, Nizam ul muluck, and all the principal Mogul omrahs, were kept in the ſame kind of honorable confinement. The Perſian had now nothing to fear from an army without officers. He entered the camp, ſeized upon the ordnance, the military cheſt, the jewel-office, the wardrobe and armory.---He ordered three months pay to be immediately advanced to his troops, and the beſt of the artillery he ſent off to Cabul.

Upon the 2d of Zehidge, Nadir Shaw moved from Karnâl towards Delhi. The emperor, guarded by ten thouſand men, marched a few miles in his rear. The Mogul army were, at the ſame time, ordered to march in two irregular columns, one on each ſide of the Perſians, the front of whoſe column was advanced two miles beyond the other two. By continued marches, Nadir Shaw arrived upon the 8th in the ſuburbs of the city. He himſelf, at the head of 12000 horſe, entered the city next day. March 2.

The

A. D. 1739. The king of Perſia, finding himſelf in poſſeſſion of Delhi, called Nizam ul muluck and Sadit Chan into his preſence, and addreſſed them in the following extraordinary manner: "Are "not you both moſt ungrateful villains to your king and coun- "try; who, after poſſeſſing ſuch wealth and dignities, called "me, from my own dominions, to ruin them and yourſelves? "But I will ſcourge you all with my wrath, which is the inſtru- "ment of the vengeance of God." Having ſpoke theſe words, he ſpit upon their beards, and turned them, with every mark of indignity, from his preſence.

After the traitors were thruſt out into the court of the palace, the Nizam addreſſed himſelf to Sadit Chan, and ſwore, by the holy prophet, that he would not ſurvive this indignity. Sadit Chan applauded his reſolution, and ſwore he would ſwallow poiſon upon his return home; the Nizam did the ſame; and both determined in appearance upon death, retired to their reſpective houſes.

Sadit Chan, in the mean time, ſent a truſty ſpy to bring him intelligence when the Nizam ſhould take his draught. The Nizam, being come home, appeared in the deepeſt affliction: but having privately intimated his plot to a ſervant, he ordered him to bring him the poiſon. The ſervant acted his part well. He brought him an innocent draught, with great reluctance. The Nizam, after ſome heſitation, and having formally ſaid his prayers, drank it off in the preſence of Sadit's ſpy, and ſoon after pretended to fall down dead.

The ſpy haſtened back to his maſter, and told him that the Nizam had juſt expired. Sadit, aſhamed of being outdone in a point of honor by his fellow in iniquity, ſwallowed a draught of

real

real poiſon, and became the juſt inſtrument of puniſhment to his own villainy. The Nizam was not aſhamed to live, though none had greater reaſon. He even prided in that wicked trick, by which he had rid himſelf of his rival, and afterwards actually enjoyed the intended fruits of all his villainies. A.D. 1739.

The Perſian, in the mean time, placed guards upon the gates of Delhi, with orders to permit no perſon whatever to paſs in or out without his ſpecial licence. Theſe ſtrict injunctions were given to prevent the inhabitants from evacuating the place, and from carrying away their wealth. He, at the ſame time, iſſued his commands, that no perſon whatſoever ſhould be moleſted; but he demanded twenty-five crores, as a contribution for ſparing the city.

Whilſt the magiſtrates were contriving ways and means to raiſe this enormous ſum, by laying a tax in proportion to their wealth on individuals, famine began to rage in the city, as all communication with the country was cut off. Upon the 10th Nadir Shaw ordered the granaries to be opened, and ſold rice at a certain price. This occaſioned a prodigious mob in all the public Bazars, particularly in the Shawgunge, or royal market. A Perſian kiſſelbaſh in this market, ſeeing a man ſelling pigeons, ſeized by force upon his baſket. The fellow, to whom the pigeons belonged, made a hideous outcry, and proclaimed aloud, That Nadir Shaw had ordered a general pillage. March 10.

The mob immediately fell upon the Kiſſelbaſh, who was protected by ſome of his own countrymen. A great tumult aroſe, and ſome perſons, bent upon more miſchief, cried aloud, That Nadir Shaw was dead; and that now was the time to drive the Perſians out of the city. The citizens, who in general carried arms,

A. D. 1739. arms, drew their ſwords, and began to cut to pieces the Perſians, wherever they could be found. The report of the death of Nadir Shaw flew, like lightning, through every ſtreet in Delhi; and all places were filled with tumult, confuſion, and death. It was now dark, and the Perſians, who had been ſtraggling through the city, returned to the citadel, except two thouſand who were killed by the mob.

About twelve o'clock at night, the king of Perſia was informed of theſe tranſactions. He immediately ordered what men he had with him under arms, and, putting himſelf at their head, marched out as far as the Muſgid of Roſhin ul Dowlat. He thought it prudent to halt there till day-light ſhould appear. He, in the mean time, ſent for the Nizam, Sirbillind Chan, and Kimmir ul dien, and threatened to put them to inſtant death, charging them with fomenting theſe tumults. They ſwore upon the Coran, that they were innocent, and he pardoned them.

March 11. When day began to appear, a perſon from a neighbouring terrace fired upon Nadir Shaw, and killed an officer by his ſide. The king was ſo enraged, that, though the tumult had, by this time, totally ſubſided, he ordered the officers of the cavalry to lead their ſquadrons through the ſtreets, and ſome muſqueteers to ſcour the terraces, and to commence a general maſſacre among the unfortunate inhabitants. This order was executed with ſo much rigor, that, before two o'clock in the afternoon, above 100,000, without diſtinction of age, ſex, or condition, lay dead in their blood, though not above one third part of the city was viſited by the ſword. Such was the panic, terror and confuſion of theſe poor wretches, that inſtead of bravely oppoſing death, the men threw down their arms, and, with their wives and children, ſubmitted themſelves like ſheep to the ſlaughter.

One

One Perſian ſoldier often butchered a whole family, without meeting with any reſiſtance. The Hindoos, according to their barbarous cuſtom, ſhut up their wives and daughters, and ſet fire to their apartments, and then threw themſelves into the flames. Thouſands plunged headlong into wells and were drowned; death was ſeen in every horrid ſhape; and, at laſt, ſeemed rather to be ſought after than avoided. A. D. 1739.

The king of Perſia ſat, during this dreadful ſcene, in the Muſgid of Roſhin ul Dowlat. None but his ſlaves durſt come near him, for his countenance was dark and terrible. At length, the unfortunate emperor, attended by a number of his chief Omrahs, ventured to approach him with downcaſt eyes. The Omrahs, who preceded Mahummud Shaw, bowed down their foreheads to the ground. Nadir Shaw ſternly aſked them what they wanted? They cried out, with one voice, "Spare the city." Mahummud ſaid not a word, but the tears flowed faſt from his eyes. The tyrant ſheathed his ſword, and ſaid, "For the ſake "of Mirza Mahummud, I forgive."

No ſooner had he pronounced theſe words than, according to our author, the maſſacre was ſtopt; and ſo inſtantaneous was the effect of his orders, that in a few minutes every thing was calm in the city. He then retired into the citadel, and inquired into the original cauſe of the tumult. Seid Neaz Chan, the ſuperintendant of the royal market, for having been active in this affair, was put to death. Kiſrah Chan, a brave Omrah, for having defended his houſe againſt the Perſians who came to maſſacre his family, but who had not been concerned in the tumult, was beheaded.

A. D. 1739. The tyrant's thirſt for blood was not yet ſatisfied. He ſent detachments daily to plunder the villages near Delhi, and to put all the inhabitants to the ſword. Six thouſand of the inhabitants of Mogulpurra were cut off for a very trivial offence. He ſent a party into the royal market, where the tumult firſt aroſe, and ordered ſeven hundred perſons to be ſeized indiſcriminately, and to cut off their noſes and ears.

When now all diſturbances were quelled by the blood of the unfortunate Delhians, the king of Perſia had leiſure to pillage the city at pleaſure. He ſeized upon the public treaſure and the regalia of Mahummud Shaw. In the treaſury ſeveral vaults were diſcovered, in which much wealth lay concealed, as well as many valuable effects. In the public treaſury was found in ſpecie, three crores of roupees: in the private vaults near two crores more. The Jewaer Channa * was eſtimated at twenty-five crores, including the Tucht Taoos, which alone coſt ten. The royal wardrobe and armory were valued at five crores. Six crores were raiſed in ſpecie, by way of contribution, upon the city, and about eight crores in jewels; all which, together with horſes, camels and elephants, amount to about fifty crores, or ſixty-two millions five hundred thouſand pounds of our money.

Great cruelties were exerciſed in levying the contributions upon the city. Under an arbitrary government, like that of India, individuals find it neceſſary to conceal their wealth. Some Omrahs, therefore, who had very little were taxed very high, whilſt others who were rich came off with a moderate ſum. Many of the former, under the ſuppoſition, that they actually poſſeſſed more wealth, were, after they had given all they were

* The jewel-office.

worth

worth in the world, tortured to death; whilſt others, to avoid pain, ſhame and poverty, put, with their own hands, an end to their miſerable exiſtence. A. D. 1739.

Upon the 21ſt of Mohirrim, the king of Perſia celebrated the nuptials of his ſon, Mirza Naſir Alli, with the daughter of Ezidan Bukſh, the ſon of Kaam Bukſh, and grandſon of the famous Aurungzebe. The Shaw himſelf diſcovered a violent deſire to eſpouſe the beautiful daughter of Muziffer Chan *; but he was prevented by one of his wives, who had the art to command the furious ſpirit of Nadir Shaw, which the reſt of the world could not controul.

During all theſe tranſactions the gates of the city were kept ſhut. Famine began to rage every day more and more; but the Shaw was deaf to the miſeries of mankind. The public ſpirit of Tucki, a famous actor, deſerves to be recorded upon this occaſion. He exhibited a play before Nadir Shaw, with which that monarch was ſo well pleaſed, that he commanded Tucki to aſk what he wiſhed ſhould be done for him. Tucki fell upon his face, and ſaid, "O king, command the gates to be opened, that the poor "may not periſh." His requeſt was granted, and half the city poured out into the country; and the place was ſupplied in a few days with plenty of proviſions.

The king of Perſia, having now raiſed all the money he could in Delhi, reinſtated Mahummud Shaw in the empire, upon the third of Siffer, with great ſolemnity and pomp. He placed the crown upon his head with his own hand, and preſented him with a rich chelat; diſtributing, at the ſame time, forty more among the Mogul omrahs. He then gave to the emperor ſome inſtructions concerning the regulation of his army; to which he

* The brother of Chan Dowran. He was ſlain in the battle at Karnal.

A. D. 1739. added ſome general maxims of government. He put him upon his guard againſt the Nizam, who, he plainly perceived, aſpired above the rank of a ſubject. "Had not I," ſaid the king of Perſia, "fooliſhly paſſed my word for his ſafety, the old * traitor "ſhould not now live to diſturb Mahummud."

Every thing being ready upon the 7th, for Nadir Shaw's return to Perſia, ſtrict orders were iſſued to his army to carry no ſlaves away, nor any Indian women, contrary to their inclinations, upon pain of immediate death. Before his departure, he obliged Mahummud formally to cede to the crown of Perſia, the provinces of Cabul, Peſhawir, Kandahâr, Ghizni, Moultan and Sind, or, in general, all thoſe countries which lie to the north-weſt of the Indus and Attoc. The whole of the treaſure which Nadir Shaw carried from Hindoſtan, amounted, by the beſt computation, to eighty millions of our money.

When this deſtructive comet, to uſe the expreſſion of our Indian author, rolled back from the meridian of Delhi, he burnt all the towns and villages in his way to Lahore, and marked his rout with devaſtation and death. "But before he diſappears be-"hind the mountains of Perſia," ſays our author, continuing the metaphor of the comet, "it may not be improper to throw ſome light on the character of this ſcourge of Hindoſtan." Nadir Shaw, together with great ſtrength of body, was endued with uncommon force of mind. Innured to fatigue from his youth, ſtruggling with dangers and difficulties, he acquired vigor from oppoſition, and a fortitude of ſoul, unknown in a life of eaſe. His ambition was unbounded and undiſguiſed: he never fawned for power, but demanded it as the property of his ſuperior parts. Had he been born to a throne, he deſerved it; had he conti-

* The Nizam was near ninety years of age.

nued

nued a ſubject, his glories would have been leſs dazzling, but more permanent and pure. A. D. 1739.

In a country where patriotiſm and honor are principles little known, fear is the only means to inforce obedience. This rendered Nadir Shaw ſo cruel and inexorable, that often, in his rage and the hurry of action, he inflicted general puniſhments for the crimes of a few. Courage, which he poſſeſſed in common with the lion, was his only virtue; and he owed his greatneſs to the great defects of his mind. Had his eye melted at human miſeries, had his ſoul ſhuddered at murder, had his breaſt glowed once with benevolence, or, had his heart revolted at any injuſtice, he might have lived to an old age, but he would have died without the name of Nadir *.

* Wonderful.

SECTION

SECTION II.

The Concluſion of the Reign of MAHUMMUD SHAW.

THE king of Perſia having evacuated Hindoſtan, the Nizam began to diſcover his own ambitious deſigns. His rivals were now all removed; ſome by his villainy, and others by favorable accidents. Without oppoſition, the management of affairs fell into his hands. Though he ingroſſed, in fact, the whole power, he delegated the great offices of ſtate to others. The name of vizier was retained by Kimmir ul Dien, and that of Buckſhi, or captain-general, was conferred upon the Nizam's ſon, Ghazi ul Dien Chan. He appointed Emir Chan ſubadâr of Allahabad, which ſo diſguſted Mahomed Chan Bunguiſh, to whom that government was promiſed by the former adminiſtration, that he left the court without leave, and repaired to his Jagier at Ferochabad.

The government of Oud being vacant by the death of Sadit Chan, that ſubaſhip was conferred upon an Omrah, called Seifdar Jung, together with the title of Burhan ul muluck. The Nizam, having nothing to fear from the ſubas of the other provinces, continued them in their employs. Notwithſtanding the ſevere blow which the empire had juſt received, no meaſures were taken to revive the declining power of the crown. This was, by no means, the intereſt of the Nizam, who now aſſumed every thing of the king, but the name.

Mahummud Shaw having ſuffered himſelf to be diveſted of his power in his capital, it could not be expected that his authority ſhould be much regarded in the provinces. The nabobs

and rajas, throughout the empire, paid now little attention to the firmâns of the court of Delhi. Each of them entertained ideas of independence, and actually poſſeſſed a regal authority in their governments.---The Mahrattors, who had, for ſome time back, made large ſtrides to eſtabliſh the ancient Hindoo government in India, in the year 1153, made an incurſion into the Carnatic A. D. 1740. with an army of eighty thouſand horſe, under the command of Ragojee. Having forced the paſſes of the mountains, they fell unexpectedly upon Dooſt Ali, nabob of that province, in ſubordination to the Nizam, who was governor-general of the Decan. The forces of Dooſt Ali were defeated, and he himſelf, together with his ſon, Haſſin Ali, fell in the action, after having exhibited extraordinary feats of bravery and firmneſs.

Sipadar Ali, the ſon, and Chunder Saib, the ſon-in-law of Dooſt Ali, had ſtill conſiderable armies under their command. But both having views upon the government of the province, inſtead of oppoſing the Mahrattors, committed hoſtilities upon one another. The conſequence was, that they were obliged to ſhut themſelves up in places of ſtrength, the firſt in Velour, and the latter in Trichinopoly. The enemy were, by this means, permitted to ravage the province at their leiſure, and to raiſe heavy contributions upon the inhabitants.

Sipadar Ali, finding he could effect nothing in the field againſt the Mahrattors, ſet a negotiation on foot with them, by the means of his father's miniſter, who had been taken priſoner in the action by thoſe barbarians. It was at laſt determined in private, that, upon condition the Mahrattors ſhould immediately evacuate the Carnatic, they ſhould receive one hundred lacks of roupees, at ſtated periods; and that, as a ſecurity for the payment of this ſum, they ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of the territory of Trichi-

A. D. 1740. Trichinopoly. One of the terms was, that Sipadar Ali ſhould be acknowledged nabob of the Carnatic.

Ali, having thus ſtrengthened himſelf with the alliance of the Mahrattors, his brother-in-law thought it prudent to pay him homage at Arcot; not knowing that Trichinopoly, and thoſe diſtricts which he poſſeſſed, had been made over to the Mahrattors. The barbarians, in the mean time, returned to their own dominions; but, about ſix months thereafter, they made a ſecond irruption into the Carnatic, to take poſſeſſion of the territories which had been privately ceded to them by Sipadar Ali. Chunder Saib ſhut himſelf up in Trichinopoly; and after ſuſtaining a ſiege of three months, was, upon the ſeventh of Mohirrim, 1154, obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion.

Theſe tranſactions in the Decan did not diſturb the peace at Delhi. The king and his miniſters continued in a profound lethargy ever ſince the invaſion of Nadir Shaw, and ſeemed indifferent about the affairs of the diſtant provinces. But a preſſing danger at home rouſed them for a moment. A fellow, from the low rank of a graſs-cutter, raiſed himſelf to the command of a gang of robbers. As in the debilitated ſtate of government, he committed, for ſome time, his depredations with impunity, his banditti, by degrees, ſwelled to an army of twelve thouſand men. He immediately aſſumed the imperial enſigns, under the title of Daranti Shaw. This muſhroom of a king was, however, ſoon deſtroyed. Azim Alla, a gallant Omrah, was ſent againſt him with an army from Delhi. He came up with the rebels, cut the moſt of them to pieces, and ſlew Daranti in the action. This happened in the 1153 of the Higera.

In

In the month of Regib, 1154, Sipadar Ali, nabob of the Carnatic, was aſſaſſinated by his brother-in-law, Mortaz Ali, who immediately acceded to the Muſnud. But a general mutiny ariſing in the army, the murderer was obliged to fly from his capital, in a female dreſs; and Mahummud Chan, the ſon of Sipadar, was proclaimed ſuba of the Carnatic. A. D. 1741.

The Nizam, who claimed the ſovereignty of the Decan, ſeeing theſe repeated revolutions in the Carnatic, without his concurrence, began to prepare to leave the court of Delhi. He ſettled his affairs with the miniſtry, and returned to Hydrabad. He immediately collected an army, and, in the month of Ramzan, 1155, marched towards the Carnatic with near three hundred thouſand men. In the Siffer of 1156, the Nizam arrived at Arcot without oppoſition; and found the country in ſuch anarchy and confuſion, that no leſs than twenty petty chiefs had aſſumed the titles of Nabob. The Nizam made a regulation, that whoever ſhould take the name of Nabob, for the future, without permiſſion, ſhould be publickly ſcourged; and raiſed immediately Abdulla Chan, one of his own generals, to the ſubaſhip of Arcot, ordering the ſon of Sipadar Ali into confinement. He, at the ſame time, poſſeſſed himſelf of the city of Trichonopoly by means of a ſum of money which he gave to Malhar Raw, who commanded there on the part of the Mahrattors.

The Nizam, without drawing the ſword, thus ſettled the affairs of the Carnatic. He returned in triumph to Golcondah, whither Abdulla Chan, the new governor of Arcot, accompanied him. Abdulla, returning towards his government, was, the firſt night after his taking leave of the Nizam, found dead in his bed; not without ſuſpicion of poiſon from Anwar ul Dien Chan, who ſucceeded him in the nabobſhip of Arcot, in the year 1157.

A. D. 1741. The Nizam in this abſolute manner diſpoſed of the provinces of the Decan, without the concurrence of the court, and actually became king of that country, though he never aſſumed that title. In the mean time, the Nizam's ſon, Ghazi ul Dien Chan, overawed Mahummud Shaw at Delhi, and left that indolent prince no more than the mere ſhadow of royalty.

Whilſt the Decan, that great limb of the Mogul empire, was cut off by the Nizam, Aliverdi Chan uſurped the government of Bengal, Behar, and Oriſſa. This fellow was once a common ſoldier, who, together with his brother Hamed, came from Tartary in queſt of ſervice to Delhi. In that city they continued for ſome time in the ſervice of the famous Chan Dowran, and afterwards became menial ſervants to Suja Chan, nabob of Cattack. Suja Chan, after the death of Jaffier Chan, ſucceeded to the government of the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Oriſſa.

The two Tartars, being poſſeſſed of good natural parts and ſome education, roſe gradually into office, and were greatly favored by the nabob. Hodjee Hamed had, in a manner, become his prime miniſter, and, by his political intrigues in the Haram, obtained the place of Naib, or deputy of the province of Behar, for his brother Aliverdi, who was then a captain of horſe.

Aliverdi was not long eſtabliſhed in his high employ, when he began to tamper with the venal miniſtry of Delhi, for a ſeparate commiſſion for the province, which he then held of Suja Chan. Money, which has great influence in every country, is all powerful in Hindoſtan. Aliverdi ſtrengthened his ſolicitations

tions with a round ſum, and, by the means of Chan Dowran, became independent ſuba of Behar. A. D. 1741.

Suja Chan dying ſoon after, was ſucceeded in the ſubaſhip of Bengal by his ſon Sirfaraz Chan. We do not mean to inſinuate, that he had any right of inheritance to his father's government, or that the ſubadary had been eſtabliſhed in his family by any grant of the crown, which was contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws of the empire: but the government was now ſo weak, that the nabobs took upon themſelves to bequeath their governments to their ſons, which were afterwards, through a fatal neceſſity, generally confirmed to them from Delhi.

Sirfaraz, being a man of a haughty and imperious diſpoſition, ſoon loſt the affection of all his officers. He diſgraced Hodjee Hamed, and tarniſhed the honor of the powerful family of Jagga Seat. Hamed, however, took advantage of the general diſaffection to Sirfaraz's government. He formed a conſpiracy againſt the nabob, and invited his brother Aliverdi to invade Bengal. Aliverdi accordingly marched from Patna, in the month of Ramzan 1154, and entering Bengal, defeated and killed Sirfaraz Chan, at Geriah, near Muxadabad, and, without further oppoſition, became ſuba of the three provinces.

The weak emperor, inſtead of chaſtiſing the uſurper with an army from Delhi, fell upon an expedient, at once diſgraceful and impolitic. The Mahrattors threatened Mahummud for the Chout, which, before the Perſian invaſion, he had promiſed to pay them; and he gave them a commiſſion to raiſe it themſelves upon the revolted provinces. The Suu * Raja, the chief of the Mahrattors, ſent accordingly an army of 50000 horſe, from

* Suu, in the Shanſcrita language, ſignifies *Glorious*.

A. D. 1742. his capital of Sattara, to invade Bengal. This force, under the conduct of Boscar Pundit, ravaged, with fire and sword, all those districts which lie to the west of the Ganges.

Aliverdi, who was a brave soldier, defended himself with great resolution. But he owed more to his villainy than to his arms. Having found means to assassinate the leader of the Mahrattors, he forced them to retreat.---When the news of this horrid murder reached the ears of the Suu Raja, he ordered two other armies into Bengal; one by the way of Behar, and another by that of Cattack. The first was commanded by Balla Raw, and the latter by Ragojee.---Aliverdi, not being able to cope with this great force in the field, had recourse to art. He sowed dissention between the two chiefs; set a private treaty on foot with Balla Raw; who, having received two years Chout, evacuated the provinces, leaving his colleague to make the best terms he could for himself. The scale was now turned against the Mahrattors. Ragojee retreated to Cattack, and, with constant incursions and flying parties, greatly harrassed the provinces. The good fortune of Aliverdi at length prevailed, and he saw himself independent sovereign of Bengal, Behar, and Oriffa: though, to quiet the minds of the people, he pretended to possess grants from the court, which he himself had actually forged.

We have been purposely succinct on the manner in which the Decan and Bengal were dismembered from the empire, as the facts are already pretty well known in Europe. We return, now, to the affairs of the interior provinces. This subject has hitherto been touched by no writer, and very few Europeans in Asia have made any considerable enquiries concerning it.

During

During theſe tranſactions, nothing happened at Delhi, but the intrigues and factions of a weak and corrupt adminiſtration. In the year 1157, Ali Mahummud, a Patan of the Robilla tribe, Zemindar of Bangur, and Awla, began to appear in arms. Ali was a ſoldier of fortune, and a native of the mountains of Cabuliſtan, who, ſome years before his rebellion, came to Delhi, with about three hundred followers of his own tribe, and was entertained in the ſervice of Mahummud Shaw. Being eſteemed a gallant officer, the command of a ſmall diſtrict, upon the road between Delhi and Lahore, was conferred upon him; where he entertained all vagrants of his own clan, who came down in queſt of military ſervice, from their native mountains. In this manner Ali expended all the rents of his diſtrict, and he was hard preſſed for the payment of the crown's proportion of his income, by the fogedar of Muradabad, to whom he was accountable. A.D. 1744.

Hernind, the fogedar, deſpairing to get any part of the revenue from Ali Mahummud, by fair means, prepared to uſe force. He raiſed 15000 of his own vaſſals, with a deſign to expel or chaſtiſe the refractory Zemindar. Ali, by the aſſiſtance of his northern friends, who lived upon him, defeated the fogedar, with great ſlaughter, and thus laid the foundation of the Rohilla government, now ſo formidable in Hindoſtan.

Kimmir ul Dien, the vizier, upon receiving intelligence at Delhi of this blow to the regal authority, diſpatched his own ſon, Meer Munnu, a youth of great bravery, with an army of 30000, againſt the rebels. Meer Munnu, croſſing the Jumna, advanced to a place called Gurmuchtiſher, on the banks of the Ganges, and found that Ali Mahummud had acquired ſo much ſtrength ſince his late victory, that he feared the iſſue of an engagement. A negotiation, therefore, was ſet on foot, and, after the

A. D. 1745. the armies had lain three months in ſight of one another, a treaty was concluded. The conditions were, that Ali Mahummud ſhould keep poſſeſſion of the countries, formerly comprehended in the government of Hirnind, upon paying the ancient revenues to the crown, and that, in the mean time, one year's payment ſhould be advanced in four months.

After this treaty was ratified, Meer Munnu returned to Delhi: but the appointed time elapſed, without any payments on the part of Ali Mahummud. He continued to ſtrengthen himſelf, annexed more diſtricts to his government, and ravaged the neighbouring countries to ſubſiſt his army. He, in ſhort, became formidable enough to rouſe the indolent Mahummud Shaw from his lethargy. That monarch took the field, with fifty or ſixty thouſand horſe, and, in the year 1158, croſſed the Jumna.

Ali Mahummud, upon the king's approach, retreated acroſs the Ganges, and ſhut himſelf in Bangur, a place of ſome ſtrength, where the imperial army inveſted him. The rebel, for the firſt two nights, made ſucceſsful ſallies, and killed many in the camp of Mahummud Shaw. The king, however, having drawn lines of circumvallation round the fort, after a ſhort but bloody ſiege, obliged the garriſon to capitulate. Ali made terms for his own life, and he was brought priſoner to Delhi, where he remained in confinement for ſix months.

The Patan chiefs, who were always, in private, enemies to the government of the Moguls, caſting their eyes upon Ali Mahummud, as a very proper perſon to raiſe their own intereſt, ſolicited the emperor for his releaſe. The weak monarch granted their requeſt; but the Patans, not yet ſatisfied, obtained for Ali Ma-

hummud

hummud the fogedarſhip of Sirhind.---This was ſuch wretched policy in the court of Delhi, that nothing but downright infatuation, folly, and the laſt degree of corruption in the miniſtry, could ever have permitted it to take place. The conſequence was, that Ali Mahummud collected his diſperſed tribe, kept poſſeſſion of Sirhind, of ſeveral diſtricts between the rivers and beyond the Ganges, without remitting one roupee to court. A. D. 1747.

We have already ſeen, that all the provinces to the north-weſt of the Indus were ceded to Nadir Shaw. When that conqueror was aſſaſſinated in Perſia, Achmet Abdalla, a native of Herat, who had raiſed himſelf in his ſervice, from the office of Chobdar, or mace-bearer, to that of Chazanchi, or treaſurer, found means, with the aſſiſtance of his own tribe, in the confuſion which ſucceded the Shaw's death, to carry off three hundred camels loaded with wealth, to the mountains of Aſganiſtan. This treaſure enabled Abdalla to raiſe an army, and to poſſeſs himſelf by degrees of the diſtricts of the mountains, Herat, part of Chorraſſan, and all the provinces ceded by the crown of Hindoſtan to the king of Perſia. Thus Abdalla laid the foundation of an empire, in thoſe countries, which formerly compoſed the great monarchy of Ghizni.

Achmet Abdalla, perceiving the declining ſtate of the Mogul government in Hindoſtan, croſſed the Attock, in the beginning of the year 1160, and raiſing contributions upon his march, advanced towards Delhi, with 50000 horſe. The poor Delhians were ſtruck with univerſal panic. The king himſelf was ſick; and there were diſtractions in the councils of the miniſters. The preſſure of the danger cemented all their differences. Ahmed Shaw, the prince royal, Kimmir ul Dien, the vizier, Seid Sul-

A.D. 1747. labit Chan, and Seifdar Jung, took the field, with 80000 horſe, and marched to oppoſe the invader.

The imperial army left Delhi upon the 18th of Siffer, and advanced to a place called Minoura, ten crores beyond Sirhind. Abdalla's army were here in ſight; and both, afraid of the iſſue of a battle, ſtrongly entrenched themſelves. In this ſituation they remained for thirty days; ſometimes ſkirmiſhing, and at other times negotiating; but Ahmed Shaw having no money to give, Abdalla would not retreat.

Abdalla, in the mean time, found means to advance ſome pieces of artillery, which bore upon the flank of the imperial army. In the evening the vizier, being at prayers, received a ſhot in the knee, and died that night. As he was very much eſteemed by the army, which in reality he commanded, though the prince bore the name, it was propoſed to Ahmed Shaw, by Meer Munnu, the vizier's ſon, to conceal his death, leſt the troops, who depended upon his courage and capacity, ſhould be affected by that accident. The prince, ſeeing the propriety of this meaſure, called together a few of his principal Omrahs, and held a council of war. It was reſolved, that the body of the vizier ſhould be mounted upon his own elephant, in the Howadar, ſupported with pillows; and that in the morning, by day-break, they ſhould iſſue out of the camp and engage the enemy.

Orders were accordingly given that night to the Omrahs, to hold their troops in readineſs, and their reſpective ſtations appointed to each. In the morning, before day, the imperial army was in motion; but Abdalla, having previous notice of their intentions, had prepared to receive them in his camp. The young prince Ahmed led the attack with uncommon bravery,

and was gallantly ſeconded by Meer Munnu, who performed ſurprizing feats of perſonal valour.---The Perſian defended himſelf with equal reſolution, for the ſpace of three hours. At length, his entrenchments were trodden down by the elephants, and the imperial army poured into his camp. A. D. 1747.

An unfortunate circumſtance, at this inſtant, totally changed the face of affairs. Iſſur Singh, the ſon of Joyſingh, raja of Amere, who commanded twenty thouſand horſe, rode up to the vizier's elephant for orders, and diſcovered that he was dead. Iſſur Singh was naturally a coward, and only wanted an excuſe to hide his head from danger. He turned immediately his face from the field, and was followed by all his troops. The flight of ſo great a part of the army drew many after them, particularly Seifdar Jung, nabob of Oud. Abdalla not only recovered his troops from their confuſion, but preſſed hard upon the imperialiſts in his turn.

Meer Munnu, upon this urgent occaſion, diſplayed all the bravery of a young hero, together with all the conduct of an old general. He formed in a column, and encouraging his troops, by words and example, bent his whole force againſt Abdalla's center. He, at the ſame time, diſpatched a meſſenger to Iſſur Singh and Seifdar Jung, aſſuring them that Abdalla was already defeated, and if they would return and aſſiſt him in the purſuit, he would permit none of them ever to repaſs the Indus. The ſtratagem had the deſired effect. They returned in full gallop to the field, and renewed the charge with great bravery.

Abdalla, having almoſt aſſured himſelf of the victory, was, by this unexpected check, thrown into great confuſion. Meer Munnu took immediate advantage of the enemy's conſternation,

A. D. 1747. drove them off the field, and purſued them five crores beyond their camp. The loſs was nearly equal on both ſides; but a compleat victory remained to the Moguls; for which they were entirely indebted to the ſurpriſing efforts of Meer Munnu.

A ſingle defeat was not enough to diſcourage Abdalla, who was a brave officer. He collected his diſcomfited army, diſgraced ſome of his chief Omrahs, conferred their rank and honors upon others, rewarded thoſe who had behaved well, and, with his ſword drawn, riding through and through his troops, encouraged them again to action. The Moguls were not a little ſurprized, next morning, to ſee Abdalla, whom they prepared to purſue, with his army drawn up in order of battle before their camp.---This uncommon confidence in a defeated enemy, threw a damp upon the courage of the conquerors. They contented themſelves with forming the line, and with ſtanding in expectation of the charge.---Abdalla, as the prince had ſome advantage of ground, at the ſame time declined coming to action, and, in the evening, encamped at a ſmall diſtance.

The ſecond day was ſpent in ſkirmiſhes, and a diſtant cannonade: but, upon the third, to uſe a Perſian expreſſion, the interval of battle was cloſed, and the ſhock was very violent. Though irregular armies of horſe make little impreſſion upon a ſolid body of well-diſciplined infantry; yet when they engage one another, upon equal terms, each truſts to the ſtrength of his own arm, and the battle is in general extremely bloody. This irregular kind of attack, it muſt be allowed, requires a greater degree of perſonal courage, where man to man is oppoſed, than to ſtand wedged in a cloſe battalion, where the danger may indeed be as great, but not ſo apparent.

The

The young prince Ahmed diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a particular manner in this action; and Meer Munnu, tenacious of the glory he had already acquired, was not to be reſiſted. Abdalla, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, was again driven off the field, and purſued acroſs the Suttuluz. Here Abdalla, in ſpite of his misfortunes, like an able and gallant commander, put the beſt face upon his affairs. He had loſt all his artillery and baggage, and being now leſs incumbered than the imperial army, he made a forced march, and, taking a circuit to the right, repaſſed the river, and next day, to the aſtoniſhment of the prince and Meer Munnu, was heard off eighteen crores in their rear, in full march towards Delhi. A. D. 1747.

Intelligence of Abdalla's march being received in the capital, every thing fell into the utmoſt confuſion, and a general panic prevailed. Ghazi ul Dien, the nizam's ſon, being at court, collected what forces he could, and marched out of the city to oppoſe Abdalla. The enemy hearing of this army in their front, would proceed no further. His troops, with one voice, told Abdalla, That, before they advanced towards Delhi, it was neceſſary to defeat the imperial army which was behind them. He was therefore conſtrained to march back towards the prince and Meer Munnu, who expected a third battle: but Abdalla thought it prudent to decline it; and, by night, repaſſed the Moguls, and continued his rout to Lahore.

A change of affairs at the court of Delhi happening at this time, prevented the prince and Meer Munnu from purſuing Abdalla. They encamped on the banks of the Suttuluz, where Ahmed Shaw propoſed to confer the ſubaſhip of Lahore upon any of his Omrahs who would undertake to recover it from Abdalla. After this offer had been declined by all of them, it

A. D. 1747. was accepted upon theſe terms by Meer Munnu; who, with a diviſion of the army, marched towards Lahore, while Ahmed Shaw returned with the reſt to Delhi. Mahummud Shaw had an inviolable friendſhip for his vizier, Kimmir ul Dien Chan. In the tottering ſtate of the regal authority, all his confidence was repoſed in that miniſter. When therefore the news of Kimmir's death came to him at Delhi, he immediately conſidered his own affairs as deſperate. He retired to a private apartment, and wept bitterly all night. In the morning he mounted the throne as uſual, to give public audience; and, whilſt every flattering courtier was running out in praiſe of the deceaſed, the emperor ſeemed much affected. He, at laſt, exclaimed: "O cruel fate! thus to break the ſtaff of my old age.---Where "now ſhall I find ſo faithful a ſervant?"---With theſe words he fell into a fit, to which he was ſometimes ſubject, and expired ſitting upon his throne.

The death of Mahummud Shaw happened upon the 8th of Ribbi ul Sani, in the 1160 year of the Higera, after a diſaſtrous reign of thirty years. The court endeavored to conceal his death till his ſon prince Ahmed ſhould arrive. He accordingly, upon the 7th day after his father's deceaſe, entered Delhi; being ſent for by expreſs from Ghazi ul Dien Chan, who was ſuppoſed by the ignorant vulgar, who are always ready to aſcribe ſudden deaths to violence, to have made away with Mahummud Shaw.

MAHUMMUD SHAW was remarkably comely; of a ſtately ſtature and affable deportment. He was no ſmall proficient in the learning of his country; and he wrote the Arabic and Perſian languages with the greateſt elegance and propriety. He was perſonally brave; but the eaſineſs and equality of his temper made his actions appear undeciſive and irreſolute. Good-

natured to a fault, he forgave, in others, crimes which his own A. D. 1747.
ſoul would abhor to commit; and thus he permitted his authority to become a victim to an ill-judged clemency. Naturally indolent and diffident of his own abilities, his mind perpetually fluctuated from one object to another. His paſſions therefore took no determined courſe of their own; but were eaſily diverted into any channel, by whatever perſon was near him.--- "The "ſoul of Mahummud," ſaid a Mogul who knew him well, "was like the waters of a lake, eaſily agitated by any ſtorm, "but which ſettle immediately after the winds are laid." If his eaſineſs or irreſolution in politicks led him into many errors, he bore with indifference, if not with fortitude, the misfortunes which were their natural conſequence.

Born in the ſunſhine of a court, brought up in the boſom of luxury, confined within the walls of a zennana, and, in a manner, educated among eunuchs, as effeminate as thoſe whom they guard, we are not to wonder that the princes of the Eaſt ſhould degenerate in a few generations. If to theſe obſtructions to the exertion of the manly faculties of the ſoul, we add the natural lenity of Mahummud, a common but unfortunate virtue in the race of Timur, it ought not to ſurprize us, that in a country like India, his reign ſhould be crowded with uncommon misfortunes. Had his fate placed Mahummud in Europe, where eſtabliſhed laws ſupply the want of parts in a monarch, he might have ſlumbered with reputation upon a throne; and left behind him the character of a good, though not of a great, prince.

SECTION

SECTION III.

The Hiſtory of the Reign of AHMED SHAW.

A. D. 1747. UPON the 17th of Ribbi ul Sani, in the year 1160 of the Higera, AHMED SHAW, the ſon of Mahummud, mounted the throne of Delhi. The firſt act of this reign, was the appointment of Seifdar Jung, the irreſolute ſuba of Oud, to the vizarit. This fellow was originally a merchant of Perſia, known there by the name of Abul Munſur. He travelled to India to ſell his commodities; and was retained there as an accomptant, by the famous Sadit Chan, governor of Oud. He behaved ſo much to his maſter's ſatisfaction in that ſtation, that he advanced him to a command in the army, and conferred upon him his daughter in marriage. His alliance with Sadit ſo much raiſed his intereſt at the court of Delhi, that, upon the death of his father-in-law, he was raiſed to the ſubaſhip of Oud. Though he was a very bad ſoldier, ſuch was the ſmoothneſs of his tongue and plauſibility of behavior, that he paſſed upon the weak as a man of conſiderable parts; which, together with ſome knowledge in the finances, paved his way to the high employ of vizier. Ghazi ul Dien continued bukſhi; and no other material changes in the adminiſtration happened upon the acceſſion of Ahmed.

The war with Abdalla, which was now carried on in Punjab by Meer Munnu with various ſucceſs, ingroſſed the attention of the court of Delhi; for the greateſt part of the imperial army was employed in that ſervice. Advices, in the mean time, arrived from the Decan, of the death of the famous Nizam ul muluck, in the one hundred and fourth year of his age; and

that his ſecond ſon, Naſir Jung, acceded to the government. A. D. 1747.
It may not, perhaps, be out of place here, to give a ſhort ſketch of the character of the Nizam, who for a long time made ſo great a figure in India.

The Nizam, though no great warrior, was reckoned a conſummate politician, in a country where low craft and deceit, without any principles of honor and integrity, obtain the appellation of great parts. The dark deſigns of his mind lay always concealed behind an uncommon plauſibility and eloquence of tongue. His paſſions were ſo much under his command, that he was never known to diſcover any violent emotion even upon the moſt critical and dangerous occaſions: but this apathy did not ariſe from fortitude, but from deep diſſimulation and deſign. It was with him an unalterable maxim to uſe ſtratagem rather than force; and to bring about with private treachery, what even could be accompliſhed with open force. He ſo habituated himſelf to villainy, that the whole current of his ſoul ran in that channel; and it was even doubtful whether he could for a moment divert it to honeſty to bring about his moſt favored deſigns. If the Nizam ſhewed any tendency to virtue, it was by ſubſtituting a leſſer wickedneſs for a greater. When fraud and circumvention could accompliſh his purpoſe, he never uſed the dagger or bowl. To ſum up his character in a few words; without ſhame, he was perfidious to all mankind; without remorſe, a traitor to his king and country; and, without terror, a hypocrite in the preſence of his god. *

* Naſir Jung, the nizam's ſon, having rebelled, was at the head of a great army. The deceitful old man counterfeited ſickneſs ſo well, and wrote ſuch pathetic letters to Naſir, requeſting to ſee him before he died, that the young fellow was taken in the ſnare, viſited his father, and was impriſoned.

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A. D. 1748. When the news of Nizam ul muluck's death came to Delhi, Ghazi ul Dien, who was his eldeſt ſon, applied to the king for his ſubaſhip. But Naſir Jung, being poſſeſſed of his father's treaſure, raiſed a great army, and marched from Aurungabad towards Delhi; not on pretence of war, but to pay his reſpects to the emperor. Ahmed dreaded nothing more than this ceremonious viſit from a man at the head of ſo great a force. He judged that Naſir Jung, under that ſpecious pretext, covered a deſign to extort from him a confirmation of the ſubadary of the Decan. He therefore durſt not favor the pretenſions of Ghazi to the provinces of the Decan, and conſequently was reduced to the neceſſity of confirming Naſir Jung in his uſurpation. Thus the ſtorm was diverted, and the new Nizam returned to Aurungabad.

In the year 1161, Caim Chan Bunguiſh, jagierdâr of Ferochabad, having differed with Ali Mahummud, a neighbouring Zemindar, they both drew out their vaſſals and dependents, and fought about ten crores above Ferochabad, and Caim Chan was defeated and ſlain. Seifdar Jung, the vizier, being informed of theſe tranſactions, ſent orders to Raja Nevil Roy, his deputy in the province of Oud, to confiſcate the eſtate of Caim Chan. The deputy rigorouſly executed the vizier's orders. He ſeized upon Caim Chan's five ſons, together with five of his adopted ſlaves, confined, and afterwards aſſaſſinated them at Allahabad. Ahmed Chan, another ſon of Caim Chan, remained ſtill alive; and, in order to revenge the death of his brothers, raiſed the Patan tribe, of which he was now acknowledged chief, and marched againſt Nevil Roy, who had collected all his forces to oppoſe him.

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In the beginning of the year 1162, the two armies met at a place near Lucknow, called Callinuddi. The Patans were ſcarcely four thouſand ſtrong; but the army of the deputy of Oud conſiſted of at leaſt twenty thouſand. The Patan chief, inſpired by revenge, and vigorouſly ſupported by his friends, attacked in perſon Nevil Roy in the very center of his army, and ſlew his enemy with his own hand. The army of Nevil Roy, ſeeing him fall, immediately quitted the field. Their artillery and baggage, and ſoon after almoſt the whole province of Oud, fell into the victor's hands. A. D. 1748.

When the news of this diſaſter arrived at Delhi, Selfdar Jung, the vizier, talked in a very high ſtrain, and requeſted of the emperor, that he might be permitted to lead an army againſt Ahmed Chan. The ſultan conſented; but the ſeaſon being far ſpent before the army was levied, the expedition was deferred till the ſolſtitial rains ſhould be over. In the month of Mohirrim, 1163, the vizier, with an army of eighty thouſand men, marched from Delhi; and, without diſtinction of age, ſex, or condition, put all the Patans he could find to the ſword. Ahmed Chan was not intimidated by this great force. With ſcarce twelve thouſand men he marched from Ferochabad, and met the imperialiſts at Shuru Sahawir, near that city.

The day happened to be very windy, and Ahmed improved that circumſtance to his own advantage. He wheeled to windward, and the duſt flew in ſuch clouds in the face of the imperial army, that they did not diſcover the motions of Ahmed; but aſcribed the darkneſs which involved themſelves to the effects of a whirlwind, common at that ſeaſon of the year. The enemy, however, like a thunderbolt, iſſued from the boſom of this ſtorm, and at once ſtruck the Moguls with terror and diſmay.

A. D. 1749. The Patans made ſuch good uſe of their ſwords, that they ſoon covered the field with dead; and the cowardly Seifdar Jung, without making one effort, was the firſt of his army who fled. The Jates and Rohillas, though thus ſhamefully deſerted by their general, made head againſt Ahmed Chan, and found means to carry off the greateſt part of the artillery, which conſiſted of twelve hundred pieces of various bores. But neither of thoſe tribes returned the guns to the king: they carried them to their own forts, to ſtrengthen themſelves againſt his authority.

This overthrow was a dreadful ſtroke to the tottering empire. The greateſt part of the province of Oud was loſt; the Jates, a numerous tribe of Hindoos, who poſſeſſed a large territory near Agra; and the Rohillas, a Patan nation, who inhabited the greateſt part of the country between Delhi and Lucknow, ſeeing the whole imperial force baffled by a petty chief, began to throw off their allegiance. Seifdar Jung, in the mean time, arrived with a ſmall part of his army at Delhi; and Ghazi Chan adviſed the king to put him to death for the diſgrace which he had drawn upon his arms. This puniſhment would not have been too ſevere for the vizier's bad behaviour: but that miniſter had ſtrengthened his intereſt by a coalition with Juneid Chan, the chief eunuch.

The queen-mother, Begum Kudſia, being a woman of gallantry, had, for want of a better lover, fixed her affection upon the chief eunuch. She had the addreſs to direct the weak monarch in every thing, and to keep him in leading-ſtrings upon the throne. Juneid Chan, though in no public employ, by means of Kudſia's favor, held the helm of government; and, by his influence, not only ſaved the vizier's life, but continued him in his office.

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In the courſe of the ſame year, a treaty was concluded with the Mahrattors, who were ſpreading their devaſtations over the ſouthern provinces. The Chout was ſtipulated to be regularly paid by the empire to thoſe troubleſome barbarians. Ahmed Shaw ordered an army to be levied, to recover the province of Oud; and it was ſoon compleated by the acceſſion of forty thouſand Mahrattors, who inliſted themſelves in the imperial ſervice. But inſtead of putting himſelf at the head of his forces, the weak emperor, by the advice of his mother and her gallant, gave the command of it to his vizier, that he might have an opportunity to retrieve his loſt honour. A. D. 1750.

Raja Sourage Mull, prince of the Jates, by the acquiſition of the Mahrattors to the imperial army, judged it prudent once more to join the vizier with all his forces; ſo that the miniſter's army now conſiſted of no leſs than one hundred thouſand men. Seifdar Jung marched from Delhi, in the year 1164, againſt Ahmed Chan: but the Raja of the Jates, inſtead of aiding him, found means to fruſtrate all his deſigns. Having ſpent a whole campaign without coming to action, he patched up a very diſhonorable peace, and returned to Delhi with the Mahrattor mercenaries at his heels, mutinous for want of their pay.

The demand of the Mahrattors amounted to fifty lacks of roupees, which the government was in no condition to pay: and the ſum gradually increaſed with the delay. Ghazi ul Dien, who had been for ſome time ſoliciting for a royal commiſſion for the ſubaſhip of the Decan, promiſed to pay off the Mahrattor debt, upon condition he ſhould receive from the emperor that appointment. Ahmed Shaw was glad upon any terms to get rid of thoſe clamorous and dangerous mercenaries, and accordingly iſſued out the imperial ſunnuds to Ghazi. That Omrah having

A. D. 1751. ſatisfied the Mahrattors in their demands upon Ahmed, engaged them immediately in his own ſervice; and having added to them a great army of other troops, obtained his own office of buckſhi for his ſon Ghazi, a youth of fifteen years of age, and marched towards the Decan.

The elder Ghazi's brother, Naſir Jung, ſuba of the Decan, and his ſon Muziffer, who had ſucceeded him in the government, were both dead. Sillabut Jung, the third ſon of the old Nizam, now ſat upon the Muſnud, which Ghazi claimed by the right of primogeniture. In the month of Zehidge, 1165, he, with an army of one hundred and fifty thouſand men, arrived in the environs of Aurungabad. The forces of his brother, Sillabut Jung, the reigning ſuba, were ſomewhat inferior in number, but they were ſtrengthened by a body of French mercenaries, which, in all probability, would inſure to him the victory. Sillabut Jung, however, was afraid of the iſſue of a general battle; and, after ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes, he found means to prevail with his uncle's wife to take off his competitor with poiſon. Thus did the perfidious Sillabut Jung ſecure to himſelf the empire of the Decan, without a rival.

But to return to the tranſactions of the court of Delhi: Seifdar Jung, the vizier, finding that his own influence declined, and that Juneid Chan, the favorite eunuch, carried all before him, invited him to an entertainment, and, contrary to the laws of hoſpitality, and altogether forgetful that he owed to Juneid his own life and fortune, aſſaſſinated him by the hands of Iſhmaiel Chan, one of his adopted ſlaves. Ahmed Shaw, being informed of this preſumptuous villainy, flew into a violent rage, degraded Seifdar Jung from the vizarit, and baniſhed him the court. This was the effect of a fit of paſſion; for the unfortunate king was

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in no condition, in fact, to exert ſo far his authority. The perfidious vizier, finding that he had nothing to hope from ſubmiſſion, broke out into open rebellion. He ſoon after, by the aſſiſtance of the Jates, advanced to Delhi, and beſieged Ahmed Shaw and young Ghazi, the buckſhi, in that city. A. D. 1751.

The ſon of Kimmir ul Dien, who, in the reign of Mahummud, held ſo long the vizarit, was raiſed, under the title of Chan Chanan, to the vacant employ of Seifdar Jung, and began to ſhew ſome abilities in his new office. Young Ghazi, who was a youth of extraordinary parts, defended the city with great reſolution for three months. The rebels were at laſt ſo diſpirited, that Ghazi ventured to attack them in the field, and gained a complete victory. Seifdar Jung fled towards his former ſubaſhip of Oud, and left his allies, the Jates, under Raja Sourage Mull, to extricate themſelves from the perilous ſituation to which he had brought them.

The rebellion of Seifdar happened in the year 1166. The Jates being deſerted by him, were in no condition to keep the field againſt Ghazi. They fled before the imperial army under Akebut Chan, to their own territories near Agra. That general inveſted the ſtrong fortreſs of Billemgur, which he took by capitulation; but ſo little did he regard his plighted faith to the garriſon, that he put them all to the ſword. The Jates, in the mean time, came before the imperial army; but diffident of their own ſtrength in the field, they ſeparated their forces, and ſhut themſelves up in their forts. The imperial general alſo divided his army into detachments, and laid at once ſiege to the two ſtrong forts of Dieg and Combere, lying in the territory between Agra and Delhi.

Ghazi

A. D. 1752. Ghazi ul Dien, in the mean time, to carry on more effectually the war againſt the Jates, obtained permiſſion from the emperor, to call in forty thouſand Mahrattors, under their two chiefs, Jeiapa Malhar Raw, and Raganut Raw. By this acquiſition of ſtrength, the imperialiſts were enabled to carry on the ſieges with vigor. At Delhi, young Ghazi and the new vizier contended for the command of the army. This conteſt was afterwards fatal in its conſequences; but for the preſent Ghazi ul Dien prevailed. He marched with a reinforcement from Delhi; and, upon his arrival in the country of the Jates, took the command of the imperial army.

The ſieges continued two months after the arrival of Ghazi, and the garriſons were reduced to the laſt extremities. The imperialiſts, in the mean time, had expended all their ammunition; and Ghazi was, upon that account, obliged to diſpatch Akebut Mahmood to Delhi, with a good force, to bring him the neceſſary ſtores. The vizier ſeeing that the ſtrong holds of the Jates muſt ſoon fall into the hands of Ghazi, ſhould he be ſupplied with ammunition, and being extremely jealous of any thing that might throw honor upon his rival, poiſoned the mind of the weak king againſt his buckſhi, by means of forged letters and villainous inſinuations, that the young Omrah aſpired to the throne. The enterprizing genius, and great abilities of Ghazi, gave ſome color to ſuſpicions of that kind; and the unfortunate Ahmed, inſtead of promoting his own cauſe againſt the Jates, took every meaſure to prevent the ſucceſs of Ghazi.

The king accordingly begun to levy forces in Delhi, and wrote a letter to Raja Sourage Mull, the chief of the Jates, to make an obſtinate defence, and that he himſelf would ſoon relieve him: that, under pretence of joining the army under Ghazi, he would attack

attack that general in the rear, and at the ſame time diſplay a ſignal to the Raja, to ſally from the fort of Combere.---Thus the king, as if infatuated by his evil genius, planned his own ruin. His letter fell into the hands of Ghazi, whoſe friends at court had informed him of the intrigues of the vizier. Struck with the king's ingratitude, and urged on by ſelf-defence, he immediately reſolved upon open hoſtility. He raiſed the ſieges, and croſſed the Jumna, to oppoſe Ahmed Shaw and his vizier, who were marching down between the rivers. A. D. 1752.

The king, hearing of Ghazi's approach, halted at Secundra, and endeavoured, by fair promiſes, to bring back that Omrah to his duty. Ghazi, in anſwer to the king's meſſage, returned to him his own letter to Raja Sourage Mull. He wrote him, at the ſame time, that "he could place no confidence in a man, "who plotted againſt his life, for no crime; if to ſerve the ſtate "was not one. What mercy," continued Ghazi, "can I ex-"pect from Ahmed, in the days of rebellion, when he treated "me as a traitor, in the days of loyalty and friendſhip? A prince, "that is weak enough to liſten to the baſe inſinuations of every "ſycophant, is unworthy to rule over brave men; who, by the "laws of God and nature, are juſtified to uſe the power which "providence has placed in their hands, to protect themſelves "from injuſtice."

The king perceived, by the ſtrain of this letter, that Ghazi was reſolved to puſh him to the laſt extremity. He, however, durſt not engage him in the field. He made the beſt of his way to Delhi, and was ſo cloſely purſued by Ghazi, that that Omrah poſſeſſed himſelf of one of the gates; upon which Ahmed Shaw and the vizier ſhut themſelves up, with a ſmall party, in the citadel. Ghazi immediately inveſted the place; and the

A. D. 1753. king, after a faint reſiſtance, ſurrendered himſelf. Ghazi, after reproaching him for his intentions againſt his life, committed him and the vizier to the charge of Akebut Mahmood. The unfortunate ſultan was deprived of ſight, the next day, by the means of an hot iron. It is ſaid, by ſome, that this was done by Akebut Mahmood, without orders, to ſhew his zeal for the ſervice of his patron; but, from the general character of Ghazi, we have no reaſon to doubt his being concerned in this crime.

Thus ended the reign of the unfortunate Ahmed Shaw: a prince, who, in his firſt exploits, appeared with ſome luſtre. When he mounted the throne, as if action degraded royalty, he altogether gave himſelf up to indolence. To ſave the trouble of thinking, he became the dupe of every ſpecious flatterer, and at laſt fell the unlamented victim of his own folly. He poſſeſſed all the clemency of the houſe of Timur; but that virtue was now, in ſome meaſure, a vice, in a country ſo corrupt, and in an age ſo degenerate. Though Ahmed was not defective in perſonal courage, he may truly be ſaid to be a coward in mind: dangers appeared formidable to him, through a troubled imagination, which, upon trial, he had fortitude to ſurmount.---He ſat upon the throne of Delhi ſeven lunar years and one month; and was depoſed in the month of Jemmad ul awil, in the 1167 of the Higera.

The power and extent of the empire were very much diminiſhed in the reign of Ahmed Shaw. All the provinces, except thoſe between the frontiers of the Jates, a few miles to the eaſt of Delhi, and Lahore to the weſt, were, in fact, diſmembered from the government of the houſe of Timur, though they paid a nominal allegiance. The rich kingdom of Guzerat was divided between the Mahrattors and a Patan tribe, called Babbé; the

Decan was uſurped by the Nizam ul muluck's family; Bengal, Behar, and Oriſſa, by Aliverdi Chan, and his ſucceſſors; Oud, by Seifdar Jung; Doab, by Ahmed Chan Bunguiſh; Allahabad, by Mahummud Kuli; and the countries round Agra, by Raja Sourage Mull, the chief of the Jates.---Budaoon, and all the provinces to the north of Delhi, were in the hands of Mahummud Ali, Sadulla Chan, and other chiefs of the Rohilla tribe of Patans. A number of petty Rajas ſtarted up into independent princes in Malava: Bucht Singh ſeized upon the extenſive territory of Marwâr, and Madoo Singh reigned in the provinces round Joinagur and Amere. A. D. 1753.

The gallant Meer Munnu ſtill oppoſed the torrent of invaſion from the north. He maintained the war with ſucceſs, againſt Abdalla, for the provinces of Moultan and Punjab, and, for a ſhort ſpace of time, ſupported the declining empire. Every petty chief, in the mean time, by counterfeited grants from Delhi, laid claim to jagiers and to diſtricts: the country was torn to pieces by civil wars, and groaned under every ſpecies of domeſtic confuſion. Villainy was practiſed in every form; all law and religion were trodden under foot; the bands of private friendſhips and connections, as well as of ſociety and government, were broken; and every individual, as if amidſt a foreſt of wild beaſts, could rely upon nothing but the ſtrength of his own arm.

SECTION IV.

The History of the Reign of ALLUMGIRE SAÑI.

A. D. 1753. UPON the ſame day that Ahmed Shaw was deprived of ſight, Ghazi ul Dien releaſed from confinement Eaz ul Dien, the ſon of Moaz ul Dien, and grandſon of Bahadar Shaw, the ſon and ſucceſſor of the famous Aurungzebe. This prince was placed by Ghazi upon the throne, by the name of ALLUMGIRE. To begin his reign with an act of beneficence, he ordered ſeventeen perſons of the imperial houſe of Timur to be releaſed from priſon, to grace his coronation. It may not be improper here to ſay ſomething concerning the inauguration of the Mogul emperors.

When a prince is, for the firſt time, ſeated upon the throne, with the royal umbrella over his head, the Omrahs, according to their dignity, are ranged in two lines before, one upon his right, the other to his left hand. A herald then proclaims his titles; and the Omrahs, each in his ſtation, advance with an offering in gold, which he himſelf receives from their hands. The ſuperintendant of the kitchen brings then a golden ſalver, with bread, confections, and other eatables, over which the king, joined by the whole court, repeats a form of grace; and then he eats a little, and diſtributes the remainder, with his own hand, among the nobility. This latter is an ancient Mogul ceremony, introduced by the family of Timur. The emperor mounts then his ſtate-elephant, and, attended by all the court, moves ſlowly towards the great Muſgid, throwing, as he advances, gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, and pearls, among the populace. In the Muſgid he repeats a prayer, and afterwards divine ſervice is performed by

the Sidder ul ſuddûr, or the metropolitan of Delhi. The Chutba, A. D. 1753.
or the genealogy and titles of the king, are then read, and he returns to the palace with the ſame magnificence and pomp. The Mogul emperors are never crowned: but upon ſome feſtivals they ſit in ſtate, under a large golden crown, which is ſuſpended by a chain to the roof of the preſence-chamber, and ſerves the purpoſe of a canopy.

Allumgire found himſelf as much a priſoner upon the throne, as he was formerly in his confinement. He was not a man of parts ſufficient to extricate himſelf from the toils of that power, to which he owed his advancement; but had he made no efforts to acquire ſome authority, the empire might have been, perhaps, reſtored to its original dignity and ſplendor, by the very extraordinary abilities of Ghazi ul Dien.---That Omrah now poſſeſſed the office of the vizarit. Allumgire, without the capacity of guiding the operations of government himſelf, began to turn all his mean parts to thwart the ſchemes of the vizier. Without conſidering whether the meaſure was right or wrong, it was ſufficient that it came from the vizier, for the emperor to oppoſe it by his minions.

This averſion in the king to Ghazi, did not long eſcape the penetrating eyes of that young Omrah. He knew that he was ſurrounded by many enemies, and therefore was unwilling to reſign an employ, from which he derived protection to his own perſon. In the mean time all buſineſs was ſuſpended, and the two factions, like armies afraid of the iſſue of a battle, watched the motions of one another.---Nothing remarkable happened at Delhi, during the firſt year of Allumgire, but the aſſaſſination of the former vizier, about ſix months after his impriſonment, by the orders of Ghazi ul Dien.

A. D. 1754. But, in the courſe of this year, the empire received a ſevere blow on its frontiers, by the death of the gallant Meer Munnu, by a fall from his horſe. He had, in many engagements, defeated Abdalla, and recovered from him the whole province of Lahore. No ſooner was this brave Omrah dead, than Abdalla reconquered all he had loſt; and, advancing to Lahore, confirmed his ſon, then an infant, in the government of that place, under the direction of an experienced Omrah.

The great ſucceſs of Abdalla, in the north-weſt, began to rouſe the court of Delhi. It was at laſt reſolved, that Ali Gohar *, Allumgire's eldeſt ſon, ſhould, in conjunction with Ghazi ul Dien, the vizier, march with the imperial army againſt the Perſians. The treaſury was now empty; and the few provinces, ſubject to the empire, were grievouſly oppreſſed for money to raiſe a force for this expedition.

In the beginning of the year 1169, the imperial army, conſiſting of 80000 men, under the prince and young Ghazi, took the field. They advanced to a place called Matchiwarra, about twenty crores beyond Sirhind. They found Abdalla ſo well eſtabliſhed in his new conqueſts, that they thought it prudent to proceed no further. The whole campaign paſſed in ſettling a treaty of marriage, between the vizier and the daughter of Meer Munnu. It ſeems that Omrah, to ſtrengthen his intereſt at the court of Delhi, had, before his death, promiſed his daughter to Ghazi; but, after that event, both the young lady and her mother were extremely averſe to the match. When the imperial army lay at Matchiwarra, the vizier inveigled both the ladies from Lahore to the camp, and finding all intreaty was in vain to obtain their conſent, he, with peculiar baſeneſs, cloſely confined them, to intimidate them into a compliance. This together with op-

* The preſent emperor.

preſſing

preſſing the provinces, through which he marched, comprehended the whole exploits of Ghazi on this expedition. After ſpending all the public money in this vain parade, the prince and vizier, without ſtriking a blow, returned to Delhi. A. D. 1755.

The cauſe of this inaction of the vizier proceeded from advices which he daily received from court. The king and his faction gained ſtrength during his abſence; and he foreſaw his own ruin, in caſe he ſhould meet with a defeat from Abdalla. Upon his return to Delhi, he found it neceſſary, in order to ſupport his declining authority, to act with great rigor and tyranny. Some Omrahs he removed with the dagger, and others he deprived of their eſtates. He confined the king in the citadel, and did whatſoever he pleaſed, as if he himſelf was veſted with the regal dignity.

Allumgire, finding himſelf in this diſagreeable ſituation, adopted a very dangerous plan to extricate himſelf. He wrote privately to Abdalla, to advance with his army, to relieve him from the hands of his treacherous vizier. He promiſed, that upon his arrival on the environs of Delhi, he ſhould be joined by the bulk of the imperial army, under the command of Nigib ul Dowla, a Rohilla chief, to whom Ghazi had delegated his own office of buckſhi, when he roſe to the employ of vizier. Thus the weak Allumgire, to avoid one evil, plunged headlong into greater misfortunes.

Abdalla, having received theſe aſſurances from the king, marched from Cabul, where he then kept his court, entered Hindoſtan with a great army, and, in the year 1171, appeared before Delhi. The vizier marched out with the imperial forces to give him battle; but, in the field he was deſerted by his friend,

A. D. 1757. friend, Nigib ul Dowla, with the greateſt part of his army. The ignorance of Ghazi ul Dien of a plot ſo long carried on, is a great proof of his extreme unpopularity. The conſequence was, that Ghazi was obliged to throw himſelf upon the clemency of Abdalla, who had ſworn vengeance againſt him, ſhould he ever fall into his hands. But ſuch was the addreſs of the vizier, that he not only found means to mollify the Perſian, but even to make him his friend. He was, however, at firſt turned out of his office, but he was ſoon after reſtored by Abdalla himſelf, who now diſpoſed of every thing, as if he was abſolute king of Delhi.

Abdalla entered the city, and laid the unfortunate inhabitants under a contribution of a crore of roupees; a ſum now more difficult to raiſe than ten crores, in the days of Nadir Shaw. The Perſian remained two months in Delhi. The unhappy Allumgire, not only found that his capital was robbed, but that he himſelf was delivered over again into the hands of a perſon, who had now added reſentment to ambition and power.

The Perſian, after theſe tranſactions, took the prince, Hedad Buxſh, brother to the preſent emperor, as hoſtage for Allumgire's future behavior; and, having forced Meer Munnu's daughter to ſolemnize her marriage with Ghazi, marched towards Agra. He, on his way, laid ſiege to Muttra, took it by aſſault; and, having ſacked the place, put the inhabitants to the ſword, for the enormous crime of attempting to defend their lives and property. After this ſcene of barbarity, Abdalla advanced to Agra, which was held on the part of the king * by Fazil Chan. This Omrah defended the city with ſuch reſolution, that Abdalla,

* Though the Jates had all the country round Agra, they had not yet poſſeſſed themſelves of that city.

after

after ſuſtaining ſome loſs, thought it prudent to raiſe the ſiege; A. D. 1757.
but, being exaſperated at this repulſe, he ſpread death and devaſtation through the territories of the Jates, who, unable to cope with him in the field, had retired into their ſtrong holds; from which, they at times iſſued, and cut off his ſtraggling parties.---The Perſian returned to a place called Muxadabad, about eight crores from Delhi. Allumgire came out to pay his reſpects to him; and, by his conduct, ſeems to have been perfectly infatuated. When the cries of his diſtreſſed people reached heaven, that contemptible monarch, inſtead of endeavoring to alleviate their miſeries, either by force or negotiation, was wholly bent on the gratification of a ſenſual appetite. The cauſe of his viſit to Abdalla, was to obtain his influence and mediation with Sahibe Zimany, the daughter of Mahummud Shaw, whom he wanted to eſpouſe; the princeſs herſelf being averſe to the match. When kings, inſtead of exerting their talents for the protection of their people, ſuffer themſelves to be abſorbed in indolence and ſenſuality, rebellion becomes patriotiſm, and treaſon itſelf is a virtue.

In the mean time, the news of ſome incurſions from the weſtern Perſia, into the territories of Abdalla, recalled that prince from India. Malleké Jehan, the widow of Mahummud Shaw, and her daughter Sahibe Zimany, claimed his protection againſt Allumgire. He carried them both to Cabul, and ſome time after eſpouſed the daughter himſelf.---The Perſian having evacuated the imperial provinces, the vizier became more cruel and oppreſſive than ever: he extorted money from the poor by tortures, and confiſcated the eſtates of the nobility, upon falſe or very frivolous pretences. To theſe tyrannies he was no leſs driven by the neceſſity of ſupporting an army to inforce his authority, than he was by the natural avidity and cruelty of his own unprincipled mind.

The

A. D. 1758. The king and his eldeſt ſon, Ali Gohar, were, in the mean time, kept ſtate priſoners. The latter made his eſcape in the year 1172, and levying ſix thouſand men at Rowari, began to raiſe the revenues of the adjacent territories. After he had continued this vagrant kind of life for nine months, the vizier, by the means of inſidious letters, in which Ittul Raw, chief of the Mahrattors, Raja Dewali Singh, Raja Nagor Mull, and many other Omrahs, ſwore to protect him, inveigled him to Delhi. But, in violation of all oaths and fair promiſes, he was inſtantly confined by Ghazi, in the houſe of Alla Murda Chan, where he remained for the ſpace of two months.

The vizier having received intelligence that the prince was privately attaching ſome Omrahs to his intereſt, and fearing that, by their means, he might again make his eſcape, determined to remove him to the citadel. He ordered a detachment of five hundred horſe to execute this ſervice. The prince not only refuſed to comply with the vizier's orders for his removal, but ordered the gates of the houſe to be ſhut, and, with a few friends, betook himſelf to arms. The houſes of the nobility in Hindoſtan are ſurrounded by ſtrong walls; and, in fact, are a kind of ſmall forts. The vizier's troops found it therefore extremely difficult to reduce the prince. He was beſieged cloſely for two days; and, finding that he could not defend himſelf much longer from the thouſands that ſurrounded the houſe, he formed the gallant reſolution to cut his way through the enemy.

He imparted his intentions to his friends, but they ſhrunk from his propoſal as impracticable. At laſt, ſix of them, ſeeing him reſolved to attempt this deſperate undertaking alone, promiſed to accompany him. On the morning of the third day, they

they mounted their horſes within the court. The gate was ſuddenly thrown open, and they iſſued forth ſword in hand, with the prince at their head. He cut his way through thouſands of Ghazi's troops, with only the loſs of one of his gallant followers. Raja Ramnat, and Seid Ali, were the two principal men concerned in this extraordinary exploit; the other four being common horſemen. Seid Ali was wounded, but four and the prince eſcaped without any hurt. A. D. 1758.

The prince having thus forced his way through the vizier's army, iſſued out of the city, and arrived at a place, called Vizierabad, about ſix crores from the ſuburbs. Ittul Raw, the Mahrattor chief, lay encamped with ten thouſand horſe at Vizierabad. Ittul had been hired as a mercenary by the vizier, to ſupport him in his tyrannical proceedings: but reſenting Ghazi's breach of promiſe to the prince, and not being regularly paid, he now thought of plundering the country under the ſanction of Ali Gohar's name. He received him, therefore, with very great reſpect, and promiſed to ſupport him.

The prince, and Ittul Raw, accordingly continued, for the ſpace of ſix months, to raiſe contributions on the provinces to the ſouth of Delhi: but as the petty chiefs of villages had, during the confuſions of the empire, conſtructed mud forts, whither they retired with their families and effects, at the approach of danger, the Mahrattors found great difficulty in ſupporting themſelves, as none of thoſe forts could be reduced without a regular ſiege, in which they were very little ſkilled. Ittul Raw, tired of this kind of unprofitable war, propoſed to the prince to retire to Gualiêr, where the Mahrattors had now eſtabliſhed a government, promiſing to give him a tract of country for his maintenance.

A. D. 1759. Ali Gohar thanked the Mahrattor for his generous propoſal, but declined to accept of it.

His eyes were now turned to another quarter. Nigib ul Dowla, who had, at the king's requeſt, betrayed Ghazi ul Dien to Abdalla, was, upon the reinſtatement of the vizier in his office, obliged to fly to his jagier of Secundra, between the rivers, about forty crores below Delhi. The prince looked upon him as the moſt proper perſon to conduct his affairs. He accordingly took leave of Ittul Raw, croſſed the Jumna, arrived at Secundra, and was received with great reſpect by Nigib ul Dowla, who, however, did not think proper to join heartily in his cauſe.

To return to the tranſactions at Delhi: Ahmet Abdalla had no ſooner ſettled his affairs, than he prepared for another expedition into Hindoſtan. He reſolved to ſupport his army with the plunder of that country, and to keep them in action there for other enterprizes more arduous. He accordingly marched from Candahar, and, in the month of Ribbi ul awil, 1174, arrived in the environs of Delhi. The unhappy Allumgire applied to him for relief; and, if poſſible, exaggerated his own misfortunes, and the unheard-of villainies of his vizier. He, at the ſame time, by his emiſſaries, ſtirred up factions in the army of Ghazi, who had marched out of the city to give battle to Abdalla. The diſcerning mind of that miniſter ſoon penetrated into the king's machinations againſt him. He did not for a moment heſitate what to do; his hands had already been imbrued in blood, and he ſtarted not at murder. He reſolved to take off the king, and then to let future events direct his line of action.

Though

Though the king was in ſome meaſure a priſoner, he was permitted to keep his guards and a great retinue of ſervants. They pitied his misfortunes, and became firmly attached to his intereſt. Abdalla, who was near with his army, ſeemed to give ſome encouragement to Allumgire, and that prince's party acquired ſtrength every day. The vizier ſaw himſelf hemmed in upon all ſides by enemies; he, therefore, thought it high time to aſſaſſinate his maſter.---He knew the weakneſs and ſuperſtition of the mind of Allumgire. He, therefore, trumped up a ſtory concerning a Fakier, who propheſied and wrought miracles at the Kottulah of Feroſe Shaw. The poor enthuſiaſtic king, juſt as Ghazi expected, expreſſed a great deſire to ſee the holy Fakier. As it would derogate from the reputation of the pretended ſaint, to pay a viſit, even to a king; Allumgire reſolved to confer upon him that piece of reſpect.---But he had no ſooner entered the apartment where the holy impoſtor ſat, than two aſſaſſins ſtarted from behind a curtain, cut off his head with a ſcimiter, and threw his body, out of a back window, upon the ſands of the Jumna. It lay there two days without interment; none daring to pay the laſt office to the remains of their unfortunate king. This tragedy was acted at Delhi, in the month of Ribbi ul Sani, 1174. A. D. 1760.

Such was the end of Allumgire, who, in an age of peace and tranquillity, might have lived with ſome reputation, and have died with the character of a ſaint. But the times required uncommon abilities in a king, and the moſt vigorous exertion of the manly faculties of the ſoul; neither of which that unhappy monarch in any degree poſſeſſed. His ſtruggles, therefore, againſt the ambition of Ghazi, were puerile and impotent. Had he employed the aſſaſſin againſt the breaſt of that treacherous miniſter, juſtice would have warranted the blow; had he poſſeſſed

A. D. 1760. courage to have aimed it with his own hand, a thouſand opportunities were not wanting. What then can be ſaid in favor of a man, who durſt not make one manly effort for his authority, or reſent indignities which he daily received in perſon?

The perfidious vizier ordered the body of the king, after lying two days expoſed on the ſand of the Jumna, to be privately interred. He then took another prince of the blood, and placed him upon the throne, by the name of Shaw Jehan.

SECTION

SECTION V.

Tranſactions at the Court of Delhi, from the Death of ALLUMGIRE SANI, to the preſent Times.

NIGIB UL DOWLA, who had, ſome time before the aſſaſſination of Allumgire, made up matters with the vizier, had the addreſs to retain the office of buckſhi. Shocked at the villainy of Ghazi, or deſirous to transfer to himſelf the whole power, he again betrayed that miniſter, and went over with all his forces to Abdalla. Ghazi, in conſequence of this deſertion, found himſelf obliged alſo to make peace with the invader. A. D. 1761.

Theſe factions proved fatal to the unhappy Delhians. Abdalla laid the city under heavy contributions, and inforced the collection with ſuch rigor and cruelty, that the unfortunate inhabitants, driven to deſpair, took up arms. The Perſian ordered a general maſſacre, which, without intermiſſion, laſted for ſeven days. The relentleſs Durannies * were not even then glutted with ſlaughter, but the ſtench of the dead bodies drove them out of the city. A great part of the buildings were, at the ſame time, reduced to aſhes, and many thouſands, who had eſcaped the ſword, ſuffered a lingering death by famine, ſitting upon the ſmoaking ruins of their own houſes. Thus the imperial city of Delhi, which, in the days of its glory, extended itſelf ſeventeen crores in length, and was ſaid to contain two millions of people, became almoſt a heap of rubbiſh.

* The tribe, of which Abdalla is the chief, are diſtinguiſhed by that name.

The

A. D. 1761. The miſeries of the unfortunate Delhians were not yet at an end. The Mahrattors, who now, without intermiſſion, traverſed the empire for plunder, advanced to partake of the ſpoils of Delhi with Abdalla. Jincow and Malharraw, accordingly, occupied the environs of the city. The Perſian marched out againſt them, and both armies joined battle at a place called Mudgenu Tuckia, two crores from the depopulated capital. The Mahrattors were defeated, and purſued one hundred and fifty crores from the field: but they, in the mean time, gave Abdalla the ſlip, turned his rear, and ſet out in full march for Delhi. The Durannies, however, were ſo cloſe to their heels, that, before they could attempt any thing againſt the city, they were a ſecond time obliged to retreat.

In the mean time news arrived, that the Mahrattor chiefs were advancing with another very numerous army from the Decan, with a profeſſed deſign to re-eſtabliſh the ancient Hindoo government. Biſſwaſs Raw, Baow, and Ibrahim Chan Ghardi, commanded this force, which, independent of the army of Mahrattors, whom Abdalla had already defeated, conſiſted of one hundred thouſand horſe. The Mahommedans were ſtruck with terror; they thought it neceſſary to join Abdalla, to ſupport the faith: Suja ul Dowlat, who had ſucceeded his father, the infamous Seifdar Jung, in the province of Oud, Ahmed Chan Bunguiſh, chief of the Patans and all the petty chieftains of the Rohillas, haſtened with their forces to Delhi.

The Mahrattors had now entered the territories of the Jates, and ſummoned Raja Sourage Mull to join them. Though Sourage Mull, as a Hindoo, wiſhed for the extirpation of Mahommediſm in India, he was too jealous of the power of the Mahrattors, to obey their orders. Enraged at his obſtinacy,

they carried fire and ſword through his dominions, and compelled him at laſt to join them with fifty thouſand men. A. D. 1761.

The Mahrattors now conſiſted of two hundred thouſand horſe, and the Mahommedans, whom Ahmet Abdalla commanded in chief, of near one hundred and fifty thouſand. The eyes of all India were now turned towards the event of a war, upon which depended, whether the ſupreme power ſhould remain with the Mahommedans, or revert again to the Hindoos. Upon the approach of the Mahrattors, Abdalla evacuated Delhi, and, having croſſed the Jumna, encamped on the oppoſite bank.

The Mahrattors immediately entered the city, and filled every quarter of it with devaſtation and death. Not content with robbing the miſerable remains of Abdalla's cruelty of every thing they poſſeſſed, they ſtripped all the males and females quite naked, and wantonly whipped them before them along the ſtreets. Many now prayed for death, as the greateſt bleſſing, and thanked the hand which inflicted the wound.---Famine begun to rage among the unfortunate citizens to ſuch a degree, that men fled from their deareſt friends, as from beaſts of prey, for fear of being devoured. Many women devoured their own children, while ſome mothers, of more humanity, were ſeen dead in the ſtreets, with infants ſtill ſucking at their breaſts.---But let us now draw a veil over this ſcene of horror.

Ghazi ul Dien found, by this time, that Abdalla was become his enemy, and inclined to the intereſts of Nigib ul Dowla. He therefore endeavoured to make up matters with the Mahrattors, but his propoſals were rejected. He then turned himſelf to the Raja of the Jates, who was in the field an unwilling auxiliary to the Mahrattors, and perſuaded him to deſert their cauſe, and

retire

A. D. 1761. retire to his own country, whither he himſelf accompanied him. Thus ended the public tranſactions of Ghazi ul Dien, who crowded into a few years of early youth more crimes and abilities, than other conſummate villains have done into a long life of wickedneſs and treachery. Though he did not poſſeſs the Decan, the fruits of his grandfather's uncommon crimes, he may truly be ſaid to have been the genuine heir of the parts and treaſons of that monſter of iniquity and villainy.

The Mahrattors, when they entered Delhi, confined Shaw Jehan, who had borne the title of royalty for a few weeks; and, to quiet the minds of ſome Mahommedan omrahs, who aided them, raiſed to the throne Jewan Bucht, the eldeſt ſon of prince Ali Gohar, who had by this time aſſumed the title of Shaw Allum in Behar. But this young prince, had he even abilities to reign, had now no ſubjects left to command; for he may be conſidered as the image of a king, ſet up by way of inſult in the midſt of the ruins of his capital.

Abdalla being informed of the deſertion of the Jates, was extremely deſirous of repaſſing the Jumna, and to come to battle with the Mahrattors. He, for this purpoſe, marched up along the bank oppoſite to the enemy, to Kungipurra, a place of ſome ſtrength, poſſeſſed by Nizabat Chan, an independent Rohilla chief. The Perſian ſummoned him to ſurrender, which he refuſed, and the place was conſequently taken by aſſault, and the garriſon and inhabitants put to the ſword.---The Mahrattors, at the ſame time, marched up upon the ſide of Delhi, and, too confident of their own ſtrength, permitted Abdalla, without oppoſition, to croſs the Jumna, by the ford of Ramra: but obſerving him more bold in his motions than they expected, they became ſomewhat afraid, and intrenched themſelves at

Karnâl, in the very ſame ground which was occupied formerly by Mahummud Shaw, while Abdalla choſe the more fortunate ſituation of Nadir Shaw. A. D. 1761.

Both armies lay in their entrenchments, for twelve days, ſkirmiſhing at times with ſmall parties. Abdalla, in the mean time, found means to cut off ſome Mahrattor convoys, with proviſions, and, by the vigilance and activity of his Durannies, to prevent all ſupplies from coming to the enemy's camp.---As famine began to rage among the Mahrattors, they were neceſſitated to march out of their lines, upon the 20th of Jemmad ul Sani, 1174, and to offer battle to Abdalla, which he immediately accepted. The firſt ſhock was extremely violent: the Mahrattors advanced with great reſolution, and charged Abdalla ſword in hand with ſuch vigor, that he was upon the point of being driven off the field, when Suja ul Dowlat, well known to the Britiſh in India, and Ahmed Chan Bunguiſh, the Patan chief of Doab, fell upon the flank of the Mahrattors, with ten thouſand horſe.---This circumſtance immediately turned the ſcale of victory. Abdalla recovered from his confuſion, renewed the charge, and drove back the enemy. Should we credit common report, fifty thouſand Mahrattors fell in this action, and in the purſuit: but be that as it will, the battle was extremely bloody, for all the generals of the vanquiſhed, excepting Malhar Raw, who fled upon the firſt charge, were ſlain.

Abdalla, after having purſued the Mahrattors for the ſpace of three days, returned to Delhi. He wrote from thence letters to prince Ali Gohar, who had proclaimed himſelf king in the province of Behar, under the title of Shaw Allum, requeſting him to return to Delhi, and to take upon him the management of the affairs of government. Shaw Allum was too prudent to

A. D. 1761. truſt himſelf in the hands of Abdalla, and therefore that prince, whoſe affairs on the ſide of Perſia required his preſence, confirmed Jewan Bucht * upon the throne of Delhi, under the tuition of Nigib ul Dowla, from whom he exacted an annual tribute. Abdalla, after theſe tranſactions, returned to Cabul.

No ſooner had Abdalla evacuated Delhi, than the Jates commenced hoſtilities againſt Nigib ul Dowla. They ſeized upon Gamgar Chan, Zemindâr of Ferochagur, and appropriated to themſelves his wealth and territory. The miniſter, upon this, took the field. The Jates advanced againſt him, with a great army, under the conduct of their chief, Raja Sourage Mull. The Jates being much ſuperior to the force of Nigib ul Dowla, became confident of ſucceſs; ſo that, when the armies approached within a few miles of one another, near Secundra, the Raja went careleſsly out, with ſome of his officers, upon a hunting party. Nigib ul Dowla, being informed of this circumſtance by means of his ſpies, immediately detached a party of five hundred horſe, under Seidu, a bold partizan, in queſt of the Raja.

Seidu fell in with Sourage Mull, whoſe party conſiſted of about three hundred. They engaged ſword in hand, with great reſolution on both ſides; but, at length, the Jates were cut off to a man, and the Raja's head was brought to Nigib ul Dowla, who was then upon his march to attack the enemy. The unexpected appearance of Nigib, in the abſence of their prince and beſt officers, ſtruck the Jates with univerſal panic; when, at that very inſtant, a horſeman advancing at full ſpeed, threw the Raja's head into their line. This circumſtance compleated their confuſion, ſo that Nigib ul Dowla defeated them with eaſe, and purſued them, ſword in hand, ſome crores from the field of battle.

* The preſent emperor's eldeſt ſon.

The miniſter, after this victory, returned to Delhi. But he had not long remained in that capital, before Joahir Singh, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Sourage Mull, hired twenty thouſand Mahrattors, under Malhar Raw, and advanced with all his forces to Delhi. Nigib ul Dowla was not capable to cope with the Jates and their auxiliaries in the field. He ſhut himſelf up in the city, where he was beſieged for three months, and at laſt reduced to great diſtreſs. However, a handſome preſent to Malhar Raw ſaved him upon this critical occaſion. The Jates, finding themſelves betrayed by their mercenaries, were obliged to patch up a peace, and retire into their own country. Theſe tranſactions happened in the year 1175 of the Higera. Nigib ul Dowla has been ſince frequently attacked by the Jates to the eaſt, and the Seiks to the weſt, but he ſtill maintains his ground with great reſolution and ability. A. D. 1762.

But to return to the adventures of the prince Ali Gohar, who, under the title of emperor, now reigns in the ſmall province of Allahabad: we have already obſerved, that he, after parting with the Mahrattors, threw himſelf upon Nigib ul Dowla at Secundra. He could not, however, prevail upon that Omrah to take up arms in his favor. He, therefore, left Secundra, with a ſmall retinue of ſervants, who lived at their own expence, in hopes of better days, with their prince. With theſe he arrived at Lucknow, one of the principal cities of the province of Oud, where Suja ul Dowlat kept then his court. Suja ul Dowlat received the king with ſeeming great reſpect, and paid him royal honors; but this was only the falſe politeneſs of an Indian court; which is always leſs deficient in ceremony than in faith. It was not the intereſt of Suja ul Dowlat, who, by the villainies of his father, the infamous Seifdar Jung, had become an independent prince, to revive the power of the empire, he therefore declined

all connection with the affairs of Ali Gohar. He, however, made him a Nafir of ſome elephants, horſes, and half a lack of roupees in money, and inſinuated to him, to leave his court.

Ali Gohar, in this diſtreſſed ſituation, turned towards Allahabad. Mahummud Kuli Chan, at that time, poſſeſſed that city and province. Mahummud received the prince with friendſhip as well as reſpect; for being a man of an enterprizing genius, he entertained great hopes of raiſing himſelf with the fortunes of the Shaw Zadda *. After maturely deliberating upon the plan of their future operations, it was reſolved, that, inſtead of relieving the unfortunate Allumgire from the tyranny of Ghazi at Delhi, they ſhould endeavor to poſſeſs themſelves of the provinces of Bengal and Behar, the revenues of which might enable them to ſupport a ſufficient army to reſtore the power of the empire. Though the Shaw Zadda was the undoubted heir of the empire, yet, to take away every pretence of right from Jaffier Ali Chan, whom the Britiſh, on account of his villainies, had raiſed to the government of Bengal, he obtained a private grant of the ſubaſhips of the three provinces from his father at Delhi.

Every thing being now concerted, public orders were iſſued to the neighbouring rajas and fogedars, to repair to the ſtandard of the Shaw Zadda; while Mahummud Kuli Chan raiſed all the troops of Allahabad. Camgar Chan, one of the principal fogedars of Behar, Pulwan Singh, raja of Budgepoor, Bulbidder, raja of Amati, and many other, both Hindoo and Mahomedan

* Shaw Zadda literally ſignifies the king's ſon: a title by which Ali Gohar was diſtinguiſhed during the life of his father Allumgire Sani.

chiefs,

chiefs, obeyed the ſummons, and joined the prince. Soldiers of fortune, in the mean time, flocked to him from all quarters, ſo that Ali Gohar found himſelf ſoon at the head of ſixty thouſand men.

In the month of Ribbi ul Sani, of the year 1173, the Shaw Zadda marched from Allahabad towards Bengal. The particulars of this war are well known. Let it ſuffice to mention here, that the prince was unſucceſsful in all his attempts upon Bengal; and was, at laſt, obliged to ſurrender himſelf to the commander of the Britiſh forces, at Geiah in Behar. He received intelligence, ſoon after, of the aſſaſſination of his father at Delhi. He was accordingly proclaimed emperor at Patna; but nothing being done for him, by the Britiſh, the unfortunate prince found himſelf obliged to throw himſelf into the hands of Suja ul Dowlat, who, in the abſence of Kuli Chan, had ſeized upon the province of Allahabad. The villainy of Suja ul Dowlat did not reſt there: he invited Kuli Chan to a conference, and baſely aſſaſſinated him.

Suja ul Dowlat, having poſſeſſed himſelf of the king's perſon, cloſely confined him. He, at the ſame time, mocked the unhappy man with a farce of royalty, and obliged him to ratify all grants and commiſſions, which might ſerve his own purpoſes. Under the ſanction of theſe extorted deeds, Suja ul Dowlat made war upon the neighboring ſtates, in which, however, he was not very ſucceſsful. When Caſſim Ali Chan was driven from the ſubaſhip of Bengal, Suja ul Dowlat joined him, in order to recover his government. He was defeated at Buxar, by the Britiſh, and the king being, in his flight, left behind him, threw himſelf a ſecond time under our protection.

He

A. D. 1764. He hoped, now, that as Suja ul Dowlat's dominions fell into the hands of the Britiſh, in conſequence of this victory, that they would confer them upon him. But the unfortunate prince deceived himſelf. He had no money, and conſequently had no friends. Suja ul Dowlat was ſtill poſſeſſed of wealth: and the virtue of the conquerors was by no means proof againſt temptation. They reſtored to him his dominions, and, by a mere mockery of terms, called injuſtice by the name of generoſity. A ſmall part of the province of Allahabad was allotted to the king, for a ſubſiſtence, and the infamous ſon of a ſtill more infamous Perſian pedlar enjoys the extenſive province of Oud, as a reward for a ſeries of uncommon villainies.---But the tranſactions of the BRITISH SUBAS in India, will furniſh materials for a diſtinct hiſtory. We ſhall not, therefore, break in upon that ſubject in this place; as to mention them ſlightly would be, in ſome meaſure, detracting from the fame, which thoſe GREAT MEN have ſo juſtly acquired.

SECTION

SECTION VI.

Of the preſent State of HINDOSTAN.

THE ſhort ſketch which we have given in the preceding ſections, of the Hiſtory of Hindoſtan, may ſerve to throw light on the decline of the great empire of the Moguls in that part of the world. We ſaw it gradually ſhrinking into itſelf, till the race of Timur are, at laſt, confined within the narrow limits of an inſignificant province. It muſt, however, be allowed, that the uncommon misfortunes of that family, proceeded no leſs from their own weakneſs, than from the villainy of their ſervants. Had a man of parts ſucceeded the debility of Mahummud Shaw's government, the ancient glory of the empire might have been ſtill reſtored. The revolted ſubas were not, then, well eſtabliſhed in their independence; and the gallant reſiſtance which Abdalla met with, in the reign of Ahmed, ſhewed that the Moguls could ſtill defend themſelves from foreign invaſions. A. D. 1764.

This, like other great ſtates, fell into pieces, more by domeſtic factions, than by foreign arms. Even the miniſters of the unfortunate Mahummud were men of parts; thoſe who managed the affairs of Ahmed were poſſeſſed of great abilities; and, in the reign of Allumgire Sani, young Ghazi diſplayed an uncommon and enterprizing genius. But virtue had fled from the land: no principle of honor, patriotiſm, or loyalty, remained; great abilities produced nothing but great crimes; and the eyes of individuals being wholly intent upon private advantage, the affairs of the public fell into ruin and confuſion.

As

A. D. 1764. As from the ruins of the extenſive empire of the Moguls, many independent governments have ſtarted up of late years, it may not be improper, in this place, to take a curſory view of the preſent ſtate of Hindoſtan. To begin with the northern provinces. We have already obſerved, that Candahar, Cabul, Ghizni, Piſhawir, with a part of Moultan and Sind, are under the dominion of Ahmet Abdalla. That prince poſſeſſes alſo, upon the ſide of Perſia, the greateſt part of Chorraſſân and Seiſtan, and all Bamia, on that of Tartary. Abdalla, in ſhort, reigns over almoſt all the countries which formed the empire of Ghizni, before it deſcended from the mountains of Afganiſtân to Lahore and Delhi. It is highly probable that, as Kerim Chan has ſettled the weſtern Perſia, he may ſoon extend the empire to its ancient boundaries towards the eaſt, and drive Abdalla into Hindoſtan; ſo that a third dynaſty of kings of India may ariſe from among the Afgans.

The revenues of Abdalla are very conſiderable, amounting to about three crores of roupees. But as he is always in the field, and maintains an army of 100,000 horſe, to defend himſelf from the Perſians and Tartars, he is in great diſtreſs for money. This circumſtance obliges him, not only to oppreſs his own ſubjects, but alſo to carry his depredations to foreign countries. During the competition of the ſeven conſpirators for the throne of Perſia, Abdalla had little to fear from that quarter. But as Kerim Chan has eſtabliſhed himſelf, by the defeat and death of his rivals, it is extremely probable, that Abdalla will ſoon feel, as we have already obſerved, the weight of his arms, as Chorraſſân and Seiſtan are properly provinces of the Perſian empire.

However,

However, Abdalla is, at preſent, at peace with Kerim, and has taken that favorable opportunity for invading Hindoſtan. He had, in April 1767, defeated the Seiks in three different actions, and advanced to Sirhind, about forty crores from Delhi, with an army of fifty thouſand horſe. It is ſuppoſed that Nigib ul Dowla, who, in the name of the preſent emperor's ſon, manages the affairs of Delhi, had, as he himſelf was hard preſſed by the Seiks and Jates, called in Abdalla, to take upon him the government. Nigib ul Dowla, by our beſt intelligence, marched out of the city to meet his ally, with forty thouſand men. The armies lay in ſight of one another, and they were buſy in negotiation, and in ſettling a plan for their future operations. Abdalla, in the mean time, wrote circular letters to all the princes of India, commanding them to acknowledge him KING OF KINGS, and demanding a tribute. Suja ul Dowlat, in particular, had received a very ſharp letter from him, upbraiding him for his alliance with INFIDELS, and demanding the imperial revenues, which that ſuba had converted to his own uſe for ſome years back.

Such was the ſituation of the affairs of Ahmed Abdalla, by our laſt accounts from Delhi. This prince is brave and active, but he is now in the decline of life. His perſon is tall and robuſt, and inclinable to being fat. His face is remarkably broad, his beard very black, and his complexion moderately fair. His appearance, upon the whole, is majeſtic, and expreſſive of an uncommon dignity and ſtrength of mind. Though he is not ſo fierce and cruel as Nadir Shaw, he ſupports his authority with no leſs rigor, and he is by no means leſs brave than that extraordinary monarch. He, in ſhort, is the moſt likely perſon now in India, to reſtore the ancient power of the empire, ſhould he aſſume the title of king of Delhi.

The SEIKS border upon the Indian dominions of Abdalla. That nation, it is ſaid, take their name of SEIKS, which ſignifies DISCIPLES, from their being followers of a certain philoſopher of Thibet, who taught the idea of a commonwealth, and the pure doctrine of Deiſm, without any mixture of either the Mahommedan or Hindoo ſuperſtitions. They made their firſt appearance about the commencement of this century, in the reign of Bahadar Shaw, but were rather reckoned then a particular ſect than a nation. Since the empire began to decline, they have prodigiouſly increaſed their numbers, by admitting proſelytes of all religions, without any other ceremony than an oath, which they tender to them, to oppoſe monarchy.

The Seiks are, at preſent, divided into ſeveral ſtates, which in their internal government are perfectly independent of one another, but they form a powerful alliance againſt their neighbors. When they are threatened with invaſions, an aſſembly of the ſtates is called, and a general choſen by them, to lead their reſpective quotas of militia into the field; but, as ſoon as peace is reſtored, the power of this kind of dictator ceaſes, and he returns, in a private capacity, to his own community. The Seiks are now in poſſeſſion of the whole province of Punjâb, the greateſt part of Moultan and Sind, both the banks of the Indus from Caſhmire to Tatta, and all the country towards Delhi, from Lahore to Sirhind. They have, of late years, been a great check upon the arms of Abdalla; and, though in the courſe of the laſt year they have been unſucceſsful againſt that prince in three actions, they are, by no means ſubdued, but continue a ſevere clog upon his ambitious views in India.

The chief who leads at preſent the army of the Seiks, is Jeſſarit Singh; there is alſo one Nitteh Singh, who is in great

eſteem among them. They can, upon an emergency, muſter 60000 good horſe; but, though in India they are eſteemed brave, they chuſe rather to carry on their wars by ſurprize and ſtratagem, than by regular operations in the field. By their principles of religion and government, as well as on account of national injuries, they are inveterate enemies to Abdalla, and to the Rohilla powers.

To the eaſt of the dominions of the republic of the Seiks lie the countries which are poſſeſſed by the Rohilla Afgans. Nigib ul Dowla, whoſe hiſtory is comprehended in the preceding ſections, is, from his power, as well as from the ſtrength of his councils and his own bravery, reckoned their prince. He poſſeſſes the city of Delhi, in the name of the family of Timur, together with a conſiderable territory around it, on both the banks of the Jumna, and his revenues amount to one crore of roupees. He publickly acknowledges the unfortunate Shaw Allum, at Allahabad, king, and allows a penſion to his ſon Jewan Bucht, who, without any power, maintains a kind of regal dignity at Delhi.

Nigib ul Dowla has been known, when hard preſſed by his hoſtile neighbors, to raiſe 60000 horſe; but his revenues are not ſufficient to ſupport one tenth part of that number. He continues to take the field under the name of buckſhi, or captain-general of the Mogul empire; and though he has not the power, or perhaps the inclination, to aſſiſt the king, he keeps up a friendly correſpondence with him, and, without any neceſſity, profeſſes obedience and a ſhew of loyalty.

Beſides Nigib ul Dowla, there are chiefs of the Rohilla race, who are perfectly independent; but when danger preſſes, they unite with him their forces. The moſt reſpectable of theſe chiefs

is Hafiz Rhimut, who poſſeſſes a conſiderable diſtrict between the rivers. The next to him, in power, is Doondi Chan; and with him we may number Mutta Huſſein, Jacob Ali Chan, Fatte Chan Zurein, and others of leſs note, who command independent tribes beyond the Ganges to the north of Delhi.

The whole power of the Rohillas may amount to 100,000 horſe, and an equal number of infantry, upon an emergency; but theſe are ſo wretchedly appointed and ill paid, that they furniſh more of ridicule, than they can impreſs of terror in the field. Their infantry are armed with rockets, pointed with iron, which they diſcharge in vollies among cavalry, which frighten more with their noiſe and uncommon appearance, than by the execution which they make. The Rohillas are remarkable for nothing more than their natural antipathy to the Mahrattors, which might be turned to advantage by the Britiſh in their future views upon Hindoſtan: but the truth is, that the Hindoos and Mahommedans ſo equally ballance one another in that country, that by ſupporting one, we may, with great facility, command both.

There is a ſmall government of the Patans to the eaſt of the Rohilla tribes. Their diſtrict is bounded by the dominions of the preſent king, by thoſe of Suja ul Dowlat, and by the territories of the Jates. The capital of this petty principality is Ferochabad, which is ſituated upon the banks of the Ganges, a few crores above the ruins of the celebrated city of Kinnoge. Ahmed Chan Bunguiſh, who made a great figure againſt Seifdar Jung, the father of Suja ul Dowlat, rules over this diſtrict. Ahmed is more diſtinguiſhed by his abilities and perſonal bravery, than by the extent of his power. His revenues do not exceed fifty lacks; but he always keeps a ſtanding force of two or three thouſand

good

good horſe, which he pays well; and, upon an emergency, he raiſes all his vaſſals, who conſiſt of about 20000 men. His country is full of forts; and he has, conſequently, been hitherto able to defend himſelf againſt the Mahrattors, Jates, and Suja ul Dowlat, who have reſpectively invaded his dominions.

The city of Agra, and a very conſiderable tract of country round it, extending along the Jumna, from forty crores below that city to within five of Delhi, and ſtretching back to Gualier and Barampulla, are now in the hands of a Hindoo nation, called the Jates. The raja who, commands the Jates, is deſcended of the ancient race of the Jits, who poſſeſſed the banks of the Indus, as far back as the reign of Sultan Mahmoodof Ghizni. From their prince, the whole body of the Jates, though made up of many diſtinct tribes and ſects, take their name; but others, with leſs probability, trace it to JATE, which in the Hindoo language ſignifies a labourer.

The Jates made no figure in the Mogul empire, as a nation, till the reign of Allumgire, commonly known in Europe by the name of Aurungzebe. In that monarch's expedition to the Decan, they were firſt heard of as a gang of banditti, under an intrepid fellow, called Chura Mun. They were then ſo daring as to harraſs the rear of the imperial army. After the death of Allumgire, the Jates took advantage of the growing imbecility of the empire, and fortifying themſelves among the hills of Narvar, ſpread their depredations to the gates of Agra. Mokun Singh, who, after the death of Chura Mun, commanded the Jates, took upon himſelf the title of Raja. Their power increaſed under Bodun Singh and Sourage Mull, which laſt was dignified with titles from the emperor.

Joahir Singh, the ſon of Sourage Mull, now reigns over the Jates, and is a very weak prince. His revenues do not exceed two crores of roupees; his dominions, like the reſt of India, being harraſſed by the Mahrattors. He may, upon ſome occaſions, be able to bring into the field ſixty or ſeventy thouſand men, but he cannot keep long in pay one third of that number. The dominions of the Jates abound with ſtrong fortreſſes, ſuch as Dieg, Cumbere, and Aliver; in one of which their prince frequently reſides, though he ſpends the moſt part of his time at Agra.

To the ſouth-weſt of the Jates, Mudoo Singh, a rajaput raja, poſſeſſes a very conſiderable territory, and reſides for the moſt part at Joinagur. He is the ſon of Joy Singh, a prince famous for his knowledge in aſtronomy, and other mathematical ſciences. He entertained above a thouſand learned brahmins for ſome years, in rectifying the kalendar, and in making new tables for the calculation of eclipſes, and for determining the longitude and declination of the ſtars.---The revenues of Mudoo Singh are not very conſiderable, being reckoned only eighty lacks; his dominions being woody, mountainous, and conſequently ill cultivated. He can, however, raiſe forty thouſand men; and he himſelf is eſteemed a good ſoldier.

Bordering upon Mudoo Singh, upon the frontiers of the Decan, is the extenſive country of Marwar, ruled, at preſent, by Bija Singh, the ſon of Bucht Singh, and grandſon of Jeſſawind Singh. Marwar, when the empire was in a flouriſhing condition, yielded annually five crores of roupees: at preſent its revenues do not amount to half that ſum, on account of the inceſſant depredations of the Mahrattors, its next neighbours.

The next Hindoo government to Marwar, is that of Odipour. The raja of this country is diſtinguiſhed by the name of Rana. That

That prince, more from his nobility of family than from his power, aſſumes a ſuperiority over all the rajas of Hindoſtan. His dominions were formerly very extenſive, but, of late years, they have been circumſcribed within narrower bounds. His territories abound with mountains and foreſts, and are almoſt ſurrounded by the kingdoms of Malava and Guzerat. His revenues are inconſiderable, and he cannot bring into the field above fifteen thouſand men.---In the vallies between the mountains of Odipour, there are many petty independent rajas; Bundi, Cottu, Rupnagur, Jeſſelmere, and Bianere, being governed by their reſpective princes, each of whom can muſter ſix or eight thouſand men.

The Mahrattors are the moſt conſiderable Hindoo power in Hindoſtan. The principal ſeat of their government is Sattarah, and ſometimes Puna, on the coaſt towards Bombay. Though the genuine Mahrattors all over India do not exceed 60000 men, yet, from their ſuperior bravery and ſucceſs in depredation, thouſands of all tribes enliſt themſelves under their banners. Theſe, inſtead of pay, receive a certain proportion of the plunder. By this means an army of Mahrattors increaſes like a river, the farther it advances; ſo that it is no uncommon thing for a force of ten or twelve thouſand genuine Mahrattors to grow into 100,000, before they arrive in the place which they deſtine to plunder.

The preſent chief of the Mahrattors is Ragenot Raw, the ſon of Bagiraw. He poſſeſſes one half of Guzerat, and all the territories between that province and the Decan. He has, of late years, extended his conqueſts to all the provinces of Malava, and to a part of Allahabad; having reduced Himmut Singh, raja of Gualier, Anarid Singh, raja of Badawir, Anarid Singh, of Chunderi, and the princes of Dittea, Orcha, Elichpoor, Bandere, and

and Jaſſey; all of whom have become tributary to the Mahrattors. They have, moreover, poſſeſſed themſelves of Oriſſa, which ought, in propriety, to be annexed to the ſubaſhip of Bengal, according to the late grant of the king to the Britiſh. Thus the dominions of the Mahrattors extend quite acroſs the peninſula of India, from the bay of Bengal to the gulph of Cambait or Cambay.

The amount of the revenues of the Mahrattors cannot eaſily be aſcertained. They muſt, however, be very conſiderable. They ſubſiſt their armies by depredations on their neighbors, and are become the terror of the Eaſt, more on account of their barbarity than their valour. They never want a pretence for hoſtilities. They demand the Chout, or fourth part of the revenues of any province; and, in caſe of a refuſal, they invade, plunder, and lay waſte the country. Their horſes being very hardy, their incurſions are ſudden, unexpected, and dreadful. They generally appoint a place of rendezvous, and their invaſions are carried on by detached parties. Should a conſiderable force at any time oppoſe them, they decline coming to action; and, as they invigorate their hardy horſes with opium, their flight, like their incurſions, is very expeditious.

The armies of the Mahrattors do not, like the troops of other Indian powers, incumber themſelves with bazars or markets. They truſt for their ſubſiſtence to the countries through which they march. They are armed with firelocks, ſome with matchlock guns, and others with bows, ſpears, javelins, ſwords and daggers. They have, within three years back, made ſome advances towards forming a diſciplined army of infantry. They have, accordingly, at preſent, ten or twelve battalions of Seapoys, uniformly cloathed and armed.---All the powers of India being now ſenſible of the advantages which the Britiſh have gained by diſciplined infantry, turn their thoughts to a ſimilar regulation in

their

their armies, and to improve their artillery, which was formerly too unweildy and ill-mounted, to be of any ſervice in the field.

To the eaſt of Malava, and to the ſouth of Allahabad, is the country of Bundelcund, governed by Hindoput. His territories are of a conſiderable extent and very fertile, and he moreover draws great wealth from his diamond mines of Hieragur and Punagur. He alſo claims a right to the mines of Sommelpour, but another raja poſſeſſes them at preſent.---The annual revenues of Hindoput amount to near two crores of roupees, including the profits ariſing from his mines. Theſe he farms out to merchant-adventurers, who purchaſe a certain number of ſuperficial feet of ground, and they are permitted to dig down perpendicularly as far as they pleaſe. Diamonds beyond a certain weight are the property of the prince, who has inſpectors, to ſuperintend the works.

The raja of Bundelcund poſſeſſes the impregnable fortreſs of Callinger and ſeveral other conſiderable ſtrong holds. He has, notwithſtanding, been obliged to compound for a certain tribute with the Mahrattors, who generally paid him an annual viſit. Between Bundelcund and Cattack, in Oriſſa, lie the rajaſhips of Patna and Sommelpour, which are not very conſiderable; the country being mountainous, woody, and unhealthy, and the inhabitants barbarous in every reſpect.

Part of the province of Allahabad is now poſſeſſed by SHAW ALLUM, by birthright and title, though nothing leſs ſo in power, emperor of Hindoſtan. He keeps the poor reſemblance of a court at Allahabad, where a few ruined Omrahs, in hopes of better days to their prince, having expended their fortunes in his ſervice, ſtill exiſt the ragged penſioners of his poverty, and burthen his gratitude with their preſence. The diſtricts of Korah and Allahabad, in the king's poſſeſſion, are rated at thirty

lacks, which is one half more than they are able to bear. Inſtead of gaining by this bad policy, that prince, unfortunate in many reſpects, has the mortification to ſee his poor ſubjects oppreſſed by thoſe who farm the revenue, while he himſelf is obliged to compound with the farmers for half the ſtipulated ſum. Beſides the revenue ariſing from Allahabad and Korah, which we may at a medium eſtimate at twelve lacks, the Britiſh pay to the king twenty-ſix lacks out of the revenues of Bengal; which is all Shaw Allum poſſeſſes to ſupport the dignity of the imperial houſe of Timur.---It may not, perhaps, be unacceptable to the public, to delineate, in this place, the character of that unfortunate prince.

SHAW ALLUM is robuſt in his perſon, and about ſix feet high. His complexion is rather darker than that which was common to the race of Timur, and his countenance is expreſſive of that melancholy which naturally aroſe from his many misfortunes. He poſſeſſes perſonal courage; but it is of the paſſive kind, and may be rather called fortitude to bear adverſity, than that daring boldneſs which loves to face danger.---He has been ſo often diſmounted in the courſe of ambition, that he now fears to give it the rein; and ſeems leſs deſirous to make any efforts to retrieve the power of his family, than to live quietly under the ſhadow of its eclipſed majeſty.---His clemency borders upon weakneſs, and his good nature has totally ſubverted his authority. He is daily induced, by importunity, to iſſue out orders which he takes no means to inforce, and which, he is certain, will not be obeyed. From this blemiſh in the character of Shaw Allum, aroſe the half of his misfortunes; for the great ſecret of eſtabliſhing authority, is to give no orders which cannot be inforced, and rather to ſuffer ſmall injuries, than ſhew reſentment, without the power of puniſhing.

His

His generoſity is more than equal to his abilities, and, too often, ill beſtowed. He is too much addicted to women, and takes more pains to maintain his Haram, than to ſupport an army.--But though we cannot call him a great prince, we muſt allow him to be a good man. His virtues are many; but they are thoſe of private life, which never appear with luſtre upon a throne. His judgment is by no means weak; but his paſſions are not ſtrong: the eaſineſs of his temper is therefore moulded like wax by every hand; and he always gives up his own better opinion for thoſe of men of inferior parts.---He is affable in his converſation, but ſeldom deſcends to pleaſantry. Upon the whole, though Shaw Allum is by no means qualified to reſtore a loſt empire, he might have maintained it with dignity in proſperous times, and tranſmitted his name, as a virtuous prince, to poſterity. It is with great regret that the author, from his regard to truth, cannot ſpeak more favorably of a prince, to whom his gratitude and attachment are due, for repeated teſtimonies of his eſteem and friendſhip.

The territories of Suja ul Dowlat, who poſſeſſes the province of Oud, border upon thoſe of the king. His revenues amount to near two crores of roupees, out of which he pays nothing to the emperor, though he pretends to recognize his title as his ſovereign. Since his defeat at Buxar, Suja ul Dowlat attends very much to the diſcipline of his army, and the proper regulation of his finances. He has already formed ten battalions of Seapoys, and has made great improvements in his artillery. When the news of Abdalla's late invaſion came, he levied twelve thouſand horſe, upon a better footing than is generally practiſed in Hindoſtan. He is now the ally of the Britiſh in India, and as his revenues will never enable him to ſupport himſelf in the field againſt them, it is probable his principle of

fear, for he has none of honor or gratitude, will make him ſtand to the letter of the treaty.

Suja ul Dowlat is extremely handſome in his perſon; about five feet eleven inches in height, and ſo nervous and ſtrong, that, with one ſtroke of the ſabre, he can cut off the head of a buffalo. He is active, paſſionate, ambitious; his penetrating eye ſeems, at firſt ſight, to promiſe uncommon acuteneſs and fire of mind: but his genius is too volatile for depth of thought; and he is conſequently more fit for the manly exerciſes of the field, than for deliberation in the cloſet.---Till of late he gave little attention to buſineſs. He was up before the ſun, mounted his horſe, ruſhed into the foreſt, and hunted down tigers or deer till the noon of day. He then returned, plunged into the cold bath, and ſpent his afternoons in the Haram among his women.--- Such was the bias of Suja ul Dowlat's mind till the late war. Ambitious without true policy, and intoxicated with the paſſions of youth, he began a wild career, in which he was ſoon checked. Stung with the loſs of reputation, his paſſions have taken another courſe. His activity is employed in diſcipling his army, and he now ſpends more time at the comptoir of his finances, than in dallying with the ladies of his ſeraglio. His authority, therefore, is eſtabliſhed, his revenues increaſed, and his army on a reſpectable footing. But, with all his ſplendid qualities, he is cruel, treacherous, unprincipled, deceitful: carrying a ſpecious appearance, purpoſely to betray, and when he embraces with one hand, will ſtab with the other to the heart. Together with being heir to the fruits of his father's crimes, he inherits all his latent baſeneſs of mind; for, if we except perſonal courage, he poſſeſſes not one virtue more than Seifdar Jung.

The province of Oud is ſituated to the north-eaſt of the Ganges, bordering upon Behar, from which it is, on the one ſide, divided by the river Deo, or Gagera, and on the other by the

the Carumnaſſa. The country is level, well cultivated and watered. It is divided, on the north, by a chain of mountains from Thibet. In the vallies, which interſect that immenſe ridge of hills, there are ſeveral independent rajas, too inconſiderable to be formidable to Suja ul Dowlat.

The provinces of Bengal and Behar are poſſeſſed by the Britiſh Eaſt-India company, in reality, by the right of arms, though, in appearance, by a grant from the preſent emperor. This is not a proper place to enter into particulars concerning thoſe provinces: it may ſuffice to obſerve, that Bengal and Behar, including what is called the company's lands and duties upon merchandize, yielded in April, 1766, 33,025,968 Sicca roupees. The expences of government, the tribute to the king, and a penſion to a nabob, ſet up on account of the villainies of his father, amounted to 22,450,000 roupees, and conſequently the ballance in favor of the company was 10,575,968 roupees, or 1,321,994l. 15s. of our money.---The Britiſh force in Bengal conſiſts of three battalions of Europeans, and thirty of Seapoys, regularly armed, diſciplined, and uniformly cloathed; ſo that we are much ſuperior, even upon that eſtabliſhment, to any other power at preſent in Hindoſtan.

In the Decan the Britiſh are almoſt as powerful as in Bengal. We ſupport Mahommed Ali, as nominal nabob of the Carnatic, while, in fact, we govern the country without control, having the poſſeſſion of the garriſons and the diſpoſal of the revenues. The power of the Nizam, who reſides at Hydrabad, though he poſſeſſes all the province of Golconda, is, of late, very much circumſcribed. He, however, ſtill maintains an army of 60 or 70000 men; but without diſcipline, and ill paid they are by no means formidable. He, ſome time ago, entered into a treaty with the Britiſh, but he has, of late, ſhewn no diſpoſition to adhere to it long.

Hydernaig,

Hydernaig, a ſoldier of fortune, who, by his perſonal merit, raiſed himſelf from a common Seapoy, to be ſovereign of almoſt all the coaſt of Malabar, threatened, laſt year, to attack the Nizam, if he did not break his unnatural alliance with the Britiſh. The part which the Nizam will take upon this occaſion, will entirely depend on the ſpirit of the councils of the Britiſh on the coaſt.---As Hydernaig had alſo threatened Mahommed Ali, nabob of the Carnatic, it was judged prudent to march an army againſt him in March, 1767; but what ſucceſs may have attended the expedition, has not hitherto reached Europe.

Hydernaig is ſaid to have thirty diſciplined battalions of Seapoys, twenty thouſand good horſe, and a great train of artillery, wrought by five hundred European renegadoes. This prince having ſerved in perſon in European armies, models his troops upon their plan, pays punctually, and enforces diſcipline with rigor. Together with being an able politician, he is a daring, active, and impetuous ſoldier, and if he is not immediately cruſhed, he may prove the moſt dangerous enemy that the Britiſh have hitherto met with in the Eaſt. He is, at preſent, the moſt formidable prince in all India, and he will, no doubt, take advantage of the divided ſtate of that country, and endeavor to extend his conqueſts.

Thus have we, in a few words, endeavored to give a general idea of the preſent ſtate of Hindoſtan. The reflexions which naturally ariſe from the ſubject, might ſwell this work into a volume. It is apparent, however, from what has been ſaid, that the immenſe regions of Hindoſtan might be all reduced by a handful of regular troops.---Ten thouſand European infantry, together with the Seapoys in the company's ſervice, are not only ſufficient to conquer all India, but, with proper policy, to maintain it, for ages, as an appendage of the Britiſh crown.---This poſition may, at firſt ſight, appear a paradox, to people unac-

quainted with the genius and diſpoſition of the inhabitants of Hindoſtan: but to thoſe who have conſidered both with attention, the thing ſeems not only practicable, but eaſy.

That ſlavery and oppreſſion, which the Indians ſuffer from their native princes, make the juſtice and regularity of a Britiſh government appear to them in the moſt favorable light. The great men of the country have no more idea of patriotiſm, than the meaneſt ſlaves; and the people can have no attachment to chiefs whom they regard as tyrants. Soldiers of fortune are ſo numerous in India, that they comprehend one fourth of the inhabitants of that extenſive country. They are never paid one third of the ſtipulated ſum, by the princes of Hindoſtan, which renders them mutinous and diſcontented; but they would moſt certainly approve themſelves obedient, faithful, and brave, in the ſervice of a power who ſhould pay them regularly.

In a country like India, where all religions are tolerated, the people can have no objection to the Britiſh, on account of theirs. The army might be compoſed of an equal number of Mahommedans and Hindoos, who would be a check upon one another, while a ſmall body of Europeans would be a ſufficient check upon both. The battalions ought to be commanded altogether by European officers, who, if they do their duty properly, and behave with juſtice to their men, may attach them to their perſons, with ſtronger ties than any troops born in Europe. But if juſtice is not obſerved to ſoldiers, human nature, in this, as in all countries, will and muſt revolt againſt oppreſſion.

At preſent, the black officers of the Seapoys muſt riſe from the ranks. This is ſound policy, and ought to be continued. Men of family and influence are deterred, by this circumſtance, from entering into the ſervice. Theſe officers are, therefore, entirely our creatures, and will never deſert a people, among whom alone

alone they can have any power; for no acquired diſcipline will give weight to a mean man, ſufficient to bring to the field an army of Indians.

The advantages of a conqueſt of Hindoſtan to this country are obvious. It would pay as much of the national debt, as government ſhould pleaſe to diſcharge. Should the influx of wealth raiſe the price of the neceſſaries and conveniences of life, the poor, on the other hand, by being eaſed of moſt of their taxes, would be more able to purchaſe them.---But, ſay ſome grave moraliſts, how can ſuch a ſcheme be reconciled to juſtice and humanity?---This is an objection of no weight.---Hindoſtan is, at preſent, torn to pieces by factions. All laws, divine and human, are trampled under foot.---Inſtead of one tyrant, as in the times of the empire, the country now groans under thouſands; and the voice of the oppreſſed multitude reaches heaven. It would, therefore, be promoting the cauſe of juſtice and humanity, to pull thoſe petty tyrants from the height to which their villainies have raiſed them, and to give to ſo many millions of mankind, a government founded upon the principles of virtue and juſtice.---The taſk is no leſs glorious than it is practicable; for it might be accompliſhed with half the blood which is often expended, in Europe, upon an ideal ſyſtem of a ballance of power, and in commercial wars, which muſt be attended with little eclat, as they are deſtitute of ſtriking and beneficial conſequences.

FINIS.